

AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE CHRONICLE CALLED
MUFARRIJ AL KURŪB FĪ AKHBĀR BANĪ AYYŪB,

BY
IBN WĀSIL.

C. WADDY.

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P R E F A C E

Jamāl ad dīn Abū‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Sālīm b. Naṣrallāh b. Sālīm b. Wāṣil was born in Ḥamāh on 2 Shawwāl, 604. He was brought up there, and educated at Jerusalem, Damascus and Aleppo. He spent seventeen years in Egypt, (642-659), and was there at the time of St. Louis' Crusade, and of the beginning of the Mamlūk dynasty. He resided at the courts of several of the leading Ayyūbid princes of the Seventh Century, A.H. (Mu‘azzam of Damascus, Naṣir Dā‘ūd of Kerak, Ayyūb of Egypt, Muḥaffar II of Ḥamāh, and his two successors), and he knew intimately many of their leading courtiers, soldiers and scholars. In the latter part of his life he was for many years chief Qādī of his native city, where he died on the 22 Shawwāl, 697.

His great work, the Mufarrij al Kurūb, ft Akhbār Bani Ayyūb, was written towards the end of his life, and contains the history of the Ayyūbids from their first appearance until 659. Ibn Wāṣil had devoted much of his life to the study of History, and had written at least one and probably more books on the subject already, so that the Mufarrij combines the merits being written by a first-class historian and a close observer of most of the events he relates.

The Seventh Century, A.H. was a great period of scholarship, and especially was this so in Syria. Damascus and Aleppo were at this time replacing Bagdād as centres of learning, under the patronage of the Ayyūbid princes. Up to the end of the Sixth Century, almost all the leading scholars had studied in Bagdād, but with the founding of Madrasas in large numbers by Nūr ad dīn and Saladin, the Syrian cities (1) became increasingly a gathering place for men of learning. Particularly rich was this period in historians. While Ibn Wāṣil was growing up, there was a flourishing school of historians at Aleppo, another at Damascus, and in his own town of Hamāh there were at least three historians at work. As the century went on, the work of Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād and Ibn abī Tayy was carried on in Aleppo by Kamāl ad dīn b. al ‘Adim and ‘Izz ad dīn b. Shaddād. In Damascus, the three great historians, Abū Shāma, Sibṭ b. al Jauzī and Ibn Khallikān were all writing their books a few years before Ibn Wāṣil composed the Mufarrij, and Ibn abī Uṣaibī'a belongs to the same period. Ibn Wāṣil is the last of the great historians of the century, and was himself the master of his

(1) Cf. Levy, A Bagdad Chronicle, p.259.

successor, Abulfidā. The Egyptian school of historians does not appear until the beginning of the Mamlūk dynasty, and it is to the Syrian historians that we look for our knowledge of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Of these Ibn Wāsil was in the best position to give first hand information on the later period.

The style of these Seventh century histories is clear and concise, and Ibn Wāsil shares this characteristic. The flowery eloquence of the lives of Saladin was looked upon with some contempt, as "a characteristic of the writers of former times, whom, you will observe, have much talk and little meaning, expressing themselves metaphorically. This is not really good style."⁽¹⁾ This is Abu Shāma's opinion, and Ibn al Athīr says much the same in his Preface to the History of the Atābeks. He has resolved, he says, not to write at length because of "the preference people have in our time for brevity."⁽²⁾ This last word, (Ikhtisār), indicates the character of much of the work of scholars of this time, including Ibn Wāsil. Many books were merely summaries of previous works on a subject, whether history or some other branch of learning, and Ibn Wāsil's first historical work was a "Mukhtasar", to be followed by a longer "Tarīkh Kabīr". Besides this he wrote Mukhtasars of the Kitāb al Aghānī,

(1) AS. i. 159.

(2) At. p. 10.

of a work on theology by Fakhr ad dīn ar-Rāzī, and of Ibn al-Baitār's book on medicine. Three others of his works were commentaries on previous books, (Chapter X.)

The historical works of this period are of two types, the chronicle and the Biographical dictionary. Kamāl ad dīn b. al-ʿAdīm wrote both, and made his short chronicle after writing a large dictionary. Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm also wrote histories in both forms.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Khallikān preferred the alphabetical arrangement of his material to the chronological and so did Ibn abī Uṣaibī'a while Abu Shāma and Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī wrote chronicles. The Mufarrij is in the form of annals, but it differs from the works of Abu Shāma and Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, in that it contains a much fuller account of events, and comparatively few obituary notices. These form a large part of the chronicles of both the others, and in later works, such as Dhahabī's history, they overshadow the narrative of events altogether (a short chronicle of the events of several years being followed by a large number of obituary notices). Ibn Wāṣil gives us a number of biographical accounts, which are his own, and do not come from other sources, and those of the Ayyūbids and the Caliphs are given as obituary notices for the most part, but many other accounts of scholars

(1) See note on Chapter 2.

etc. are given where they happen to be mentioned in the course of the work. A number of these accounts will be found either in the text or the notes of this introduction.

The first part of the Mufarrij, up to the death of Saladin in 589, is taken almost entirely from earlier sources, and these are fully discussed in Chapter xi. Part of the rest is also derived from other chronicles, but most of it is Ibn Wāsil's own material, derived from sources otherwise unknown, from his own memory, or from accounts given to him by actors in the events.

Ibn Wāsil gives us a very full account of the history of his native city, Ḥamāh, in the course of the Mufarrij. The Ayyūbid period was the most flourishing that this city, which is as old as the Hittites, ever had. Under the family of Saladin's nephew, Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn b. Shāhanshāh, it became one of the foremost cities of Syria, and a centre of trade and scholarship. For this branch of the Ayyūbids, Ibn Wāsil is the best possible authority. His father Sālim, born in 571, was one of the leading officials of Mansūr I, (587-617), and was old enough to remember the reign of Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn I. Ibn Wāsil's uncle and cousin, Burhān ad dīn and Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm, both played a part in the deposition of Nāsir Qilij Arslān, Mansūr's younger son, who ruled from 617 to 626. Ibn Wāsil himself knew Muẓaffar II, (626-642) very well, and

the latter's son Mansūr II (642-683) was later his patron. It was during his reign that Ibn Wāsil wrote most of the Mufarrij, which was finished under Muẓaffar III, (683-698). The last great Ayyūbid prince, Abulfidā, (710-733), was his pupil. The history of Ḥamāh at its most prosperous period and the biography of its finest scholar, therefore, go naturally together, and a full review of Ibn Wāsil's material for the history of Ḥamāh is given in this Introduction, (Chapters I, II, VI. and IX.)

Another thread in the Mufarrij is the biography of Nāṣir Dā'ūd of Kerak, patron of Ibn Wāsil, who gives very full accounts of his court and his vicissitudes up to the time of his death in 656. This has been put together in Chapter IV. Some account has also been given of the complicated sequence of events following the death of Kāmil in 635, (Chapter V), and also of the events during the years that Ibn Wāsil spent in Egypt, with special reference to St. Louis' crusade and the Khawāriṣmian invasion, (Chapters VII and VIII). In Chapter III is gathered some of the literary history of the period, especially of Damascus and Aleppo at the time when Ibn Wāsil was studying there. It only remains to mention the discussion of the text of the Mufarrij, its Manuscripts, the additions made to it, and the date of its composition, (Chapters XI and XII).

The Introduction is accompanied by a Summary of the chronicle, in which are indicated the sources from which Ibn Wāṣil took his material. In the second half of the Mufarrij, where Ibn Wāṣil is giving us original material, the corresponding passages for each year are given from the histories of Abulfidā and Maqrīzī. It has not been possible to indicate in detail which portions of the Mufarrij are used by these later writers. Abulfidā throughout uses and abbreviates Ibn Wāṣil, so that he gives the substance, while always omitting details. He used Ibn Wāṣil in the same way as Ibn Wāṣil himself used earlier sources. Maqrīzī used Ibn Wāṣil very extensively, though he does not quote him word for word in the same way that Abulfidā does. Other later historians occasionally used Ibn Wāṣil, especially Abul Maḥāsin, Al 'Ainī,⁽¹⁾ and Suyūṭī,⁽²⁾ but the Mufarrij fell out of circulation almost entirely and never seems to have gained any popularity.

References have been made throughout to the source of the information which is given. Where this is not done, it indicates that the material comes from the Mufarrij itself,

(1) Brock.ii. 52. MS. Paris 1543.

(2) In his Manāhil as Saḫā, Paris. 1609. Brock.ii. 143.

and the reference may be ascertained from the Summary of the year in question.

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Bahā = Bahā ad dīn Yūsuf b. Shaddād, Vita et res gestae Saladini.
ed. Schultens, Lugd. Bat. 1755.

IA = ‘Izz ad dīn ‘Alī b. al Athīr. Ibn al Athīr Chronicon,
quod perfectissimum inscribitur, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 14, Bde. Lugd.
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Hafniae, 1789-94.

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Maq. = Quatremère, Histoire des Sultāns Mamlouks de l'Égypte ... par Takī ad dīn Ahmad al Maqrīzī, trad. par M. Quatremère. Vol. i. pts. I and 2. Paris 1837-1840.

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(Kh. = Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary, translated... de Slane. 4. vols. Paris 1842+. *Wafayāt al A'yān*, text, ed. Bulaq. 1299 A.H. *Safadi. Various MSS.*

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CHAPTER I.

Ḥamāh at the beginning of the Seventh Century A.H.

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Ḥamāh at the Beginning of the Seventh Century, A.H.

The city of Ḥamāh lies on the Orontes, about halfway between Damascus and Aleppo. During the early centuries of Islām it was of little importance,¹ and it was included in the military district of its later rival, Ḥoms, until the fourth century, when Saif ad daula, (333-356 A.H.), transferred it to Aleppo. It was ruled from Aleppo until the beginning of the sixth century, and between 507 and 529 it changed hands several times, between the Būrids of Damascus, Ibn Qarāja, and Zankī, who finally took it in 529.² It was never captured by the Franks, though they often threatened it.³ The fortifications which then defended it were destroyed by an earthquake in 552, as were those of many other places in Syria, and Nūr ad dīn rebuilt them all, including Ḥamāh.⁴ The damage done by this earthquake must have been very extensive, for Benjamin of

1. A Third Century author quoted by Yāqūb calls it a village, (Yāqūt.ii.331), and Istakhrī (p.61) and Ibn Hauqal (p.117) put it on a level with Shaizar. Even then it had walls. Yāqūt, loc.cit.

2. Encyc.ii.240. 1079.p.23-24, 30-31.

3. E.g. 507 A.H., QA.x.372: 573, 601, and 611 A.H., see Summary.

4. This was the earthquake which destroyed Shaizar. Among the towns whose walls and citadels Nūr ad dīn repaired were Aleppo, Ḥoms, Damascus, Bārīn, Shaizar and Manbij. 1702.f.55b

Tudela, who visited the city a few years later (1163 = 558), says that there were only 70 survivors, and that 15,000 people were killed, and Ibn al Athīr also illustrates the completeness of the destruction.¹ By the time when our period begins with the surrender of the town to Saladin in 570, it had made a rapid recovery from the effects of this earthquake, and was ready for the development in importance which took place under its Ayyūbid sovereigns.

The best source for the history of Ḥamāh during the period is Ibn Wāṣil, though for the reigns of Nūr ad dīn and Taqī ad dīn he adds little to Ibn al Athīr. Besides these chronicles, we have several descriptions of Ḥamāh at this period, from which we can get a picture of Ibn Wāṣil's home. Ibn Jubair spent a day in Ḥamāh in 580, and gives a long description of it.² Yāqūt, forty years later, gives us another account,³ and we have the short notes by Abulfidā,⁴ Dimashqī,⁵

1. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p.92, IA.XI.144.

2. *Travels of Ibn Jubair*, ed. Wright, p.257-8. He started from Spain in 578, and died in Alexandria, 614.

3. Yāqūt ii.330-332.

4. Abulfidā, *Géographie*, (Taqwīm al Buldān,) ed. Reinaud et de Slane, p.263.

5. Muḥammad b.abī Tālib ad Dimashqī was born in 1256 A.D. in Damascus, and died in 1327 A.D. He wrote a description of Syria about 1300 A.D. Text, ed. Mehren, p.206.

and the author of the *Marāṣid*,¹ written at the end of the century.

Ḥamāh lies on a bend of the Orontes, which flows through it from South East to North West, then bends sharply West round the hill on which the Citadel stood. On another hill stood the town itself, (the Upper Town) while in between, on the bank of the Orontes, lay the Lower Town, joined to the large Suburb on the opposite bank by a bridge which still stands.²

Ibn Jubair was not impressed by his first view of Ḥamāh, which seemed to him to be crowded into a small space, its houses huddled together, without any outstanding buildings. He liked it better when he came down to the river, and was delighted with the view from the Mosque which Nūr ad dīn had built on the river bank. He describes each section of the city, noting especially the excellent arrangement of the markets in the Upper Town, and the variety of merchandise found there. The town was evidently a flourishing centre of trade at this time.

The citadel, when Ibn Jubair saw it, was not particularly

1. An epitome of Yāqūt's Geographical Dictionary, written about 1300 A.D. and called the *Marāṣid al Ittilā*. ed. Juynboll, i.318.

2. See the article in *Encyc.* ii.240-241.

well fortified, but its situation, perched on a steep, round hill¹ above the Orontes, made it very strong, and it had an excellent water supply, brought up from the river into the interior of the citadel. Nūr ad dīn had done some work in repairing it after the earthquake, but the main fortifications were made by Saladin's nephew, Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn, who must have begun work upon it very soon after Ibn Jubair's visit, for by 584, when Saladin visited the town, he had made it into one of the strongest castles in Syria.² He deepened its ditch, and this work was continued by his son Maṣṣūr, who also stocked it with large quantities of ammunitions and stores.³ Yāqūt, who knew it after these improvements, says that it was wonderfully fortified and constructed,⁴ and Ibn Wāṣil compares it with the fortress of Aleppo, which was proverbial for its strength.⁵ There was a mosque in the citadel, sometimes used as a prison, and the tombs of some of the Ayyūbids were there.⁵

The Upper Town, or Upper market, was surrounded by a solid wall, probably the work of Nūr ad dīn, which enclosed

1. It was partly artificial, Encyc.ii.240.

2. 1702 f.83a.

3. 1702.f.203a.

4. Yāqūt, loc.cit.

5. 1702 f.215b. 1703.f.125b.

the shoulder and summit of the hill on which it stood. In it was the old Jāmi' Mosque, originally the Christian church, and still in use.¹ There was a palace there, called the Dār al Akram, which belonged to Maṣṣūr I.² The Lower Town, or Lower Market, lay below the Citadel, in the valley, and was surrounded by a wall on three sides, the fourth being protected by the river. This wall was probably also the work of Nūr ad dīn. On the bank of the Orontes still stands the Mosque built by Nūr ad dīn, and by its side he founded a hospital.³ Yāqūt and the author of the Marāṣid⁴ describe the markets of this part of the city, so that it had probably become the centre of trade since the time of Ibn Jubair, when the markets of the Upper Town were the best. On the river, there were mills, and the famous water wheels, some of which were as old as the Third Century.⁵ They carried water into the Mosque and the madrasas, as well as into most of the houses, and they irrigated the gardens on both banks.⁶ These gardens were famous for producing a special kind of

1. Encyc.ii.240. Maṣṣūr II was buried in a tomb by it. 1703. f.126a.

2. 1702.f.260a,334a.

3. 1702,f.56a.

4.Loc cit.

5.Yāqūt ii.331.

6. Abulf. Geog.loc.cit.

"almond apricot", which grew nowhere else.¹

Saladin gave Ḥamāh to his nephew Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn 'Umar in 574, and he ruled it for the next thirteen years, but he did not spend much of his time there. He was the son of Saladin's full brother Shāhanshāh, who had died in 543, and whose two sons were not much younger than Saladin and were among his most trusted supporters.² Muẓaffar held several towns in Syria in addition to Ḥamāh,³ and he was deputy of Saladin in Egypt for three years, (579-582). Apart

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1. Dimashqī, loc. cit. Ibn Baṭūṭa, i, 141. By the end of the Thirteenth Century A.D. there was another suburb growing up on the left bank, which is first mentioned by the author of the Marāṣid, and which was called the Mansūriyya. By 1355, when Ibn Baṭūṭa visited Ḥamāh, it was larger than the city itself.
 2. The other was Farukh Shāh, also a poet, who was for a time Saladin's deputy in Damascus, and was given Ba'albek in 575. He was the patron of Tāj ad dīn al Kindī, and died in 578. His son Amjad succeeded him at Ba'albek, which he held until just before his death in 627. Ibn Wāṣil gives a long account of Amjad, and considers him the best poet among the Ayyūbids. See 1702.f.263b-265a and Summary. For Taqī ad dīn, see IKh.II.391.

3. Ma'arra, Salamīyya, Manbij, Qal'at Najm, Jabala and ^{Lādhī} ~~Lādhī~~ ^{qīyya} ~~qīyya~~. 1702.f.106b.

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from a quarrel at the end of his life, there was great affection between him and his uncle, who, says Ibn Wāṣil, loved him for his courage and his obedience.¹ He commanded the right wing of Saladin's army, and accompanied him on most of his campaigns. He finally died in 587 fighting on his own behalf in the province of Irbil, having been given certain places in the Eastern Provinces, (Ḥarrān, etc.)² in the previous year. Ibn Wāṣil gives us a number of poems by him.³ His chief importance from the point of view of Ḥamāh was his work on the citadel, to which we have already referred.

Taqī ad dīn's son, Manṣūr Muḥammad, was with him at the siege of Malāzgird when he died, and he showed his qualities of leadership in the retreat which followed. He brought his father's body back to Ḥamāh, where it was buried in a tomb outside the city on the North. He then started his endeavours

1. 1079.p.303.

2. In 582, when he was recalled from Egypt to make way for Saladin's son 'Azīz, he was very angry, but his loyalty stood the test, and he was with Saladin for most of the siege of Acca. In 586, after the death of Zain ad dīn 'Alī Kūjak of Irbil, he was given Mayyāfāriqīn, Ḥarrān, Ar Ruhā and Sumaisāt, and went to take possession of them. He refused to return to his uncle, and began to conquer other places in the Eastern Provinces for himself. See Summary.

3. 1079, p.302-3.

to obtain his father's lands, but Saladin was unwilling to give them to him, and it was only after numerous negotiations, and with the support of his great uncle 'Ādil, that he obtained Ḥamāh, Ma'arra, Salamiyya, and Qal'at Najm, while Ḥarrān and the other districts held by Taqī ad dīnⁱⁿ/the Eastern Provinces were given to 'Ādil.

Mansūr's reign lasted for thirty years, (587-617), and he was the greatest of the Ayyūbids of Ḥamāh, combining the qualities of a soldier, a politician and a scholar. Ibn Wāṣil's account of his reign is by far the best available, and brings out fully all three sides of his character. He managed to play an important part in the politics of his day, despite the smallness of his territory, and to maintain a court on a scale similar to those of Aleppo and Damascus. The main features of his policy were continued by his successors, and reappear throughout the century. They are his alliance with Egypt, and his border warfare with the Franks, and his patronage of learning.

The main thread of events during Mansūr's reign was the gradual increase of 'Ādil's power, at the expense of his nephews, until he was ruling Damascus (592), and Egypt (596), as well as the Eastern Provinces, and only Aleppo remained in the hands of a son of Saladin (Zāhir). The rivalry between him and Zāhir continued until the latter's death in 613, and Mansūr had to maintain his position in the midst of all these

quarrels and rivalries. In this he succeeded very well. Ibn Wāṣil's general comment on his position is that 'Ādil and Zāhir were both afraid of him, as he might combine with either against the other.¹ Manṣūr managed for the most part to keep out of family quarrels, and he also managed to use them to his own advantage. His alliance with 'Ādil went back to the time when the latter persuaded Saladin to give him Ḥamāh, etc., and except for one occasion he managed to avoid entanglement with the princes who were fighting against 'Ādil. This was in 595, when Zāhir was on his way to join his brother Afdal in besieging 'Ādil in Damascus. He passed through Ḥamāh, and tried to force Manṣūr to join him. Manṣūr was not strong enough to refuse all support, unless he acted merely as a stroke of policy, for he gave Zāhir some of his troops, and in return obtained permission to attack the castle of Bārīn, and take it from the emir who then held it. His alliance with 'Ādil was re-established in the following year, when an envoy was sent by Manṣūr with apologies to

1. 1702.f.203a.

2. This was 'Izz ad dīn Ibrāhīm b. al Muqaddam. His father Shams ad dīn led the pilgrimage in 583, and was killed at Mecca. Manṣūr gave 'Izz ad dīn Qal'at ^NMajm and Manbij in exchange for Bārīn in 596. 1079. p.486.

'Ādil for his desertion, pleading that he acted under pressure. His support must have been valuable to 'Ādil, for he immediately accepted the excuse, and himself re-wrote the dispatch which a secretary had written blaming Manṣūr for his behaviour. At the same time the alliance was cemented by a marriage between Manṣūr and 'Ādil's daughter 'Iṣmat ad dīn Malika Khātūn, and Manṣūr was allowed to keep Bārīn. He had to stand a siege by Zāhir in 597, but bought him off with 500,000 dīnars and a promise that if he and Afḍal took Damascus, he would take allegiance to them. In the following year, he entertained 'Ādil at Ḥamāh, while he was negotiating with Zāhir, and he remained on excellent terms with him for the rest of his life, co-operating with him in campaigns both against the Franks and in the Eastern Provinces. He visited him in Egypt in 601.

The capture of Bārīn¹ put Manṣūr in possession of an outpost

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1. Bārīn or Ba'rīn (Le Strange, Palestine, p.381,420), was a castle built by the Franks and taken from them by Zankī in 531. It was held by Nāṣir Qilij Arslān b. Manṣūr until 630, when his brother Muẓaffar took it from him, "being afraid that the Franks would take it, because of Nāṣir's weakness, and that the Moslems near by would suffer hardship, for it is near Ḥiṣn al Akrād and Ṣāfītā, which have a tax (qaṭī'a) upon it. The Franks are constantly attacking it, and some of its villages are divided between the Franks and the Moslems." 1702.f.287a-b. Muẓaffar had the fortress destroyed in 636.

for attack and defence against the Franks, who from the stronghold of ḡiṣn al Akrād¹ used to make raids upon Ḥomṣ and Ḥamāh. This fortress overlooks the road between Ḥomṣ and the coast, and Bārīn stood in the hills to the North of it, about a day's journey South West of Ḥamāh. Raids and skirmishes often took place, and the heaviest fighting was in the years 599 to 601. In 599, Maṣṣūr himself spent some months at Bārīn, and inflicted two defeats on the Franks, as a result of which a year's truce was made. Directly this had expired, the Franks made an attack which came as far as the very gates of Ḥamāh, and they captured a number of the leading citizens. This was in 601, and it was followed by another truce, but the threat of attack by the Franks was never far distant.

‘Iṣmat ad dīn Malika Khātūn, Maṣṣūr's wife and cousin, came to Ḥamāh in 598, and her eldest son, Muṣaffar Taqī ad dīn Maḥmūd was born in the following year while his father was at Bārīn.² The second son, Nāṣir Qilij Arslān, was born in 600, and there was another son, Malik Mu‘īn, who was much younger, and must have been born quite soon before her death.³

1. Le Strange, Palestine, p.452-3.

2. He hurried back to receive congratulations. The boy was called ‘Umar at first after his ^{grand father} ~~uncle~~, but this was later changed to Maḥmūd. 1702.149b.

3. See the account in Chapter II. of 626 A.H., when he played a part in the defence of Ḥamāh.

This took place in 616, and it is the occasion of the first eyewitness description given by Ibn Wāṣil. In 616, Manṣūr had an oath of allegiance taken to his son Muẓaffar, whom he then sent to Egypt to assist his maternal uncle, Kāmil, against the Franks at Damietta.¹ The man who took this oath from the people was Ibn Wāṣil's father, Sālīm, and he was probably then Qādī of Ḥamāh. Soon after Muẓaffar had gone, his mother died, and Ibn Wāṣil, then twelve years old, went to the funeral service, which his father conducted in the Citadel. Manṣūr then sat in the school which he had founded, to receive the condolences of his people, and there Ibn Wāṣil saw him, "sitting on the right of the Mihrāb, in mourning, broken and sad." By his side were his sons, including Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān. The Qoran was read and elegies recited, a prize being given for the best to be composed in the metre and rhyme of one of Abu 'Alā al Ma'arrī's poems.²

Manṣūr himself only survived his wife by a year, for he died in 617, while his two eldest sons were away from Ḥamāh. Ibn Wāṣil and his father were not in Ḥamāh when he died, as he had appointed Sālīm to the post of Qādī of Ma'arra, after he had resigned that of Qādī of Ḥamāh, which he evidently held

1. They captured it after 'Ādil's death in 615, and held it until 618. See Summary.

2. D.449 A.H. Brock.i.254.

held at the time of Malika Khātūn's death.¹ One other incident in which Sālīm figures is related by Ibn Wāṣil from Maṣṣūr's reign. In 607, the Caliph Nāṣir founded the order of the Futuwwa,² and sent envoys through the provinces ordering

1. The exact dates are not clear. Ibn Wāṣil says in 619, "My father was then Qāḍī there, (i.e. Ma'arra). He had previously held the post of Qāḍī of Ḥamāh, when Maṣṣūr dismissed the Qāḍī Ḥujjat ad dīn b. Marāḥil. After that, my father resigned out of respect for the Qāḍī Ḥujjat ad dīn, because of the long-standing friendship there was between them. When Maṣṣūr imprisoned Shihāb ad dīn Aḥmad b. Mudrak b. Sulaimān, Qāḍī of Ma'arra, he summoned my father and obliged him to become Qāḍī of Ma'arra. He obeyed his order and went there, and the Qāḍī Ḥujjat ad dīn returned to the post of Qāḍī (of Ḥamāh). He then died at the end of Sha'ban, 616, and Maṣṣūr appointed 'Imād ad dīn b. al Quṭb to be Qāḍī." 1702.f.215a-b. From the part Ibn Wāṣil's father played at the time of Muẓaffar's departure and Malika Khātūn's death, it would seem that he was then Qāḍī of Ḥamāh, and he must have resigned soon afterwards.

2. See the article by Taeschner, *Die Islamischen Futuwabünde*, ZDMG. Neue Folge, bd. 12. Heft 1/2. pp. 6-49. There is another detailed account of the ceremony of investiture in the section inserted into the *Mufarrij* from Muḥyī ad dīn's life of Baibars, (see Chapter X.), 1702.f.412a.

the princes to join it. Ibn Wāṣil describes the ceremony held at Ḥamāh, when Maṣṣūr and his leading courtiers were invested. Maṣṣūr ordered that a Khutba be composed for the occasion, and Sālim wrote one, which included quotations from the Qoran, "suited to the conditions of the Futuwwa, and the praiseworthy qualities it enjoins!"¹ The Qādī of Ḥamāh (then Bahā ad dīn Abū Yasr b. Mauhūb),² was the first to be invested and the others followed.

Under Maṣṣūr,³ Ḥamāh became a centre of scholarship, for he was a generous patron of letters. He was himself an historian and a poet, and was the author of a Dīwān, a biographical dictionary of poets,⁴ and a history called Miḍmār al Haqā'iq fī 'Ulūm al Khalā'iq (Playground of truths about the sciences of created things). This was in ten volumes, and

1. 1702.f.232a.

2. Cf. the note on Zain ad dīn b. Mauhūb, at the end of the chapter.

3. Unfortunately the account of his death and the beginning of his biography is missing from the Mufarrij, which has, however, a long account of him, 1702.f.203a-204b, Abulf.IV.114, 228. Brock.i.324.Wuest.Gesch.303. Abu Shāma, Mudhayyil, Paris 5852, f.135a, and Kitāb ar Raudatain, ii.226.

4. One volume, written in 602, has survived, Leyden 884.HKh.IV.145, says it was in ten volumes.

contained a summary of other histories and the names of those who came to visit him, or who lived with him.¹ There were two hundred learned men at his court, and he supported them. He also founded a Shāfi'ī school by his father's tomb, known as the Mansūrī or Taqawī Madrasa, and the well-known scholar Saif ad dīn al Āmidī taught there.² Another man who stayed with him for a time was the famous traveller, 'Alī al Harawī, who died in Aleppo in 611.³

When Ibn Jubair visited Ḥamāh, there were already three madrasas in Ḥamāh, and two of these must have been those founded by Nūr ad dīn, one them being Shāfi'ī, and the other Ḥanafī.⁴ Others are mentioned later, and we find one named

1. Abu Shāma, Mudhayyil, loc.cit. HKh.V.589 says that it was not really written by him.

2. 1702.f.126b.284a.

3. 1702.f.173a.IKh.ii.286-7. He wrote a book on "Places of pilgrimage", and was a well known preacher. His sermons were collected in a book. Ibn Khallikān says that he wrote his name on the walls of every place he visited. Brock.i. 478. He acted as envoy between Zāhir and Kaikāwūs of Rūm in 609.1702.f.171a.

4. 1702.f.55b.

after Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm,¹ a large one founded by the Qādī Zain ad dīn b. Mauhūb,² and one founded by Shujā' ad dīn Murshid, a prominent figure in the reign of Manṣūr II.³

1. Shuhba, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 23362, f. 98a (note in the margin).

2. The Khaṭīb Zain ad dīn 'Abd ar Raḥmān Abul Barakāt b.

Mauhūb, was sent to Egypt to announce the death of Muẓaffar II. of Ḥamāh in 642, taking with him Muẓaffar's sabre. In 647 he came to Damascus to congratulate Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb on his accession, when the latter was passing through on his way to Egypt. He died in 659. 1703, f. 50a. Maq. i. I. p. 490, 1702, f. 365a. 1703, f. 170b. Another member of his family was Qādī of Ḥamāh during Manṣūr's reign, 1702, f. 232b.

3. See later, in Manṣūr II's reign. It was a Ḥanafī foundation and he was buried there. He died in 669. Supplement, 1702, f. 437b.

CHAPTER II.

Nāṣir Qilij Arslān, 617-626.

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Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān, 617-626.

Mansūr was succeeded by his younger son Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān and our sources for his reign are Ibn Wāṣil, Ibn al Athīr, and a history of Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm. Ibn al Athīr gives us an account independent from Ibn Wāṣil's, but not nearly so detailed. Shihāb ad dīn's history is exactly contemporary with the end of Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān's reign and confirms and complements Ibn Wāṣil.¹

Shihāb ad dīn Ibrahīm b. abi-ād-Damm was a cousin of Ibn Wāṣil's maternal uncle, Burhān ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm,² and a friend of Ibn Wāṣil's. He was born in 583, studied in Bagdād, lectured on Tradition in Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo and Ḥamāh, and

1. HKh.ii.99. Ṣafadī Introd. p.266. There are three MSS of it, Bodl.i.728, (Marsh 60), Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS, in the University Library of Edinburgh, no.39 and Bankipore Cat.Or.MSS, vol.xv.no.964. The title in the Oxford MS. is Kitāb ash Shamārīkh fit Tawārīkh. (Trifles of History).

2. 1702.f.259a. See later in this chapter.

wrote books on numerous subjects, including Law, the differences between the sects, and history.¹ He was Qādī of Ḥamāh

1. Brock i.346.Wuest.Gesch.326.. Shuhba,Brit.Mus.Add.23362.
f.98a.Subkī.Brit.Mus.Add.23361.f.99b-100b.Isnawī,Brit.Mus.Or.
3037.f.70a. HKh.Index,8421. The following list of his works
has been compiled from all these sources.

i.Adab al Qādī,Paris 996.HKh.i.222. It contained one
volume.Shuhba.loc.cit.

ii.Sharḥ Mushkil al Wasīṭ, a commentary on Al Ghazālī's
Wasīṭ fil Furū', (Brock,i,424),HKh.vi.438. It was about twice
the size of the Wasīṭ. Shuhba,loc.cit. Subkī gives a quotation
from it.

iii. Fatawā, (Decisions of sacred law.) HKh.iv.349.

iv. Kitāb tadqīq al 'Ināya fī Taḥqīq ar Riwaya.Alger.544.

v. Al Firaq al Islāmīyya.HKh.iv.414.v.130.

vi.Tarīkh Kabīr Muẓaffarī. HKh.ii.150.v.606. Abulfidā
mentions it among his sources, and says that it contained 6
volumes, and was specially concerned with the Islamic sect.
(al millat al islāmīyya.) Abulf.i.p.viii. It is also men-
tioned among the sources of an Eighth Century History, Brit,
Mus.Cat.MS.Ar.p.423b, and in the preface to Paris 1553. Ibn
Wāṣil may quote it once (see the chapter on sources). It was
written before the shorter history we use here, as there are
references in that to it.

Ibn Wāṣil says, "He was a scholar, versed in the tenets of
the (Shāfi'ī)sect, literature, and history. He journeyed in
his youth to Bagdād, where he studied, and the Caliph Nāṣir in-
vested him with a robe of honour. He arrived in Ḥamāh wearing
it." 1702.f.235a.

from 622 until his death in 643, and he was sent by Muẓaffar II on two important embassies in 637 and 642. His large history, (the *Tarīkh Kabīr Muẓaffarī*), does not appear to have survived, but we have one dedicated to Muẓaffar and written in 627 just after his accession. In the preface¹ he tells us that he had for long intended to write a book for Muẓaffar, but had waited until the latter had gained his rightful throne and had then decided to compose an abridged history, which should end with an account of Muẓaffar's reign and character. The book reflects the circumstances in which it was written, and gives only a brief account of Nāṣir's reign, suppresses the names of those who were responsible for his usurpation, and closes with the betrothal of Muẓaffar to Kāmil's daughter in 626. Shihāb ad dīn is careful to say that "by God's grace, I was ill" at the time of Nāṣir's accession, and had nothing to do with it, and he does not mention his own appointment by Nāṣir as Qādī of Ḥamāh. The only passages of much interest in the book are accounts of 617 and 626² which are used in this chapter.

When Mansūr fell ill in 617, Muẓaffar was away in Egypt, fighting with Kāmil against the Franks, and Nāṣir Qilij Arslān had gone to act as his father's representative

1. Marsh § 60.f.1b-2a.

2. Marsh 60.f.171a-b. 172b-173.

with his maternal uncle Mu'azzam b. 'Adil, who had succeeded his father at Damascus. His illness grew serious, and he ordered that an oath of allegiance be taken to Muza'ffar, and after him to Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān. Some of the court decided to send for Nāṣir, who arrived in Ḥamāh just before his father's death. Manṣūr died on Monday 27 Dhil Qa'da, and on the same day those responsible for summoning Nāṣir took him up to the citadel, and gathered together the people who had just taken the oath to Muza'ffar, including the man who had administered the oath.¹ These protested, but finally agreed to break their oaths and swear allegiance to Nāṣir. Manṣūr was buried the same day, and his death was made public early on the Tuesday morning, a ceremony of mourning being held in the Upper Mosque. Nāṣir succeeded to the throne, and the power fell into the hands of a man whom Ibn Wāṣil calls the vizier Zain ad dīn b. Farīḡ, and Shihāb ad dīn refers to cryptically as "the man who obtained control of Nāṣir and whom people know all about." This account differs slightly from Ibn Wāṣil's, who says that Nāṣir was still with Mu'azzam, fighting the Franks near Caesarea, when his father died. He adds that he promised Mu'azzam to pay him 400,000 dirhams if he allowed him to go to take possession of Ḥamāh, and that the

1. This was probably 'Imād ad dīn b. al Qutb, whom Manṣūr appointed Qādī of Ḥamāh in 616. 1702.f.215b.

reason for Zain ad dīn b. Farīh's action was Nāṣir's weakness of character. The conspirators expected that if Nāṣir succeeded they could control him, whereas Muẓaffar had courage and strength of will.

Muẓaffar meanwhile hurried back to Syria as soon as he heard the news of his father's death. One of his companions concealed the news of Maṣṣūr's illness from him, so that he was too late to prevent Nāṣir Qilij Arslān from succeeding. Muẓaffar met his uncle Mu'azzam in the Ghōr, and was informed that his brother had taken possession of Ḥamāh. He went to Damascus, and wrote to Ḥamāh protesting against Nāṣir's usurpation, but as he received no answer, he returned to Egypt, where Kāmil gave him some fiefs, and where he remained until 625.¹

Nāṣir Qilij Arslān ruled Ḥamāh for the next nine years. For a time the man who had put him on the throne, Zain ad dīn b. Farīh, remained in power as his vizier, but he was soon dismissed and banished. Prominent in Nāṣir's service was a

1. This is Ibn Wāṣil's account. In Damascus he stayed in a house which belonged to his father, called Dar Ibn al-Zanjīl. This continued to belong to the rulers of Ḥamāh, and Abulfidā was born there in 672. Abulf.v.34. Maṣṣūr II. stayed there in 658, 1703.f.167b.

man called Shihāb ad dīn b. al. Quṭb, brother of the Qāḍī of Ḥamāh, 'Imād ad dīn, whom Manṣūr had appointed in 616, and whose appointment Nāṣir confirmed.¹ This Shihāb ad dīn was a lawyer, and had held a post under Manṣūr, but had been imprisoned for embezzlement. While he was imprisoned in the Mosque in the Citadel, he made the acquaintance of Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān, and they became great friends. Shihāb ad dīn one day told him a dream which prophesied that he should succeed his father, and Nāṣir promised that in that case he

1. 1702.f.205b-206a. "His father was a great scholar and lawyer and Shihāb ad dīn was his equal in law, the differences between the sects, and letters. Shihāb ad dīn went to 'Irāq and studied in Bagdād for a time. He then came to Ḥamāh, and was an instructor (mu'īd) in the Manṣūriyya Madrasa, with Saif ad dīn al Āmidī." Ibn Wāṣil's father must have known him well in Ma'arra. 'Imād ad dīn b. al. Quṭb was in the service of Manṣūr of Ḥomṣ in 641, when he was sent to Egypt as his envoy and stayed there, as Ayyūb would not let him return. 1703.f.44b,45b. Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī recommended him to Ayyūb, who made him Qāḍī of Miṣr in 646. 1703.f.68b. He was with Mu'azzam at Manṣūr in 647, and rode one day with Ibn Wāṣil. 1703.f.84b,85b. In 652 he set out for Ḥamāh, and was appointed Qāḍī of it, but died at Damascus while on the way. 1703.f.111b.

would treat him well. He fulfilled his promise, and Shihāb ad dīn abandoned the career of a civilian and became a soldier. He was made governor of Ma'arra, and in 619 returned to Ḥamāh, where he became Atābek of the 'Askar, until Nāṣir dismissed and imprisoned him in 622. He was later released by Muẓaffar. His brother fled to Egypt in 622.

In 618, the Franks were still in Damietta, which they had held since 616, and Kāmil's repeated requests for help from his brothers in Syria were at last answered. Mu'azzam and Ashraf (who held the Eastern Provinces and who was at the moment in Aleppo) agreed to go to Egypt, and Nāṣir Qiliġ Arslān accompanied them, having first made Ashraf promise to protect him against Kāmil. Family disputes were for the moment set aside, and Damietta was recaptured by the united efforts of all the leading Ayyūbid princes. In the following year, however, they were back in Syria, and Nāṣir nearly lost Ḥamāh, not to his brother but to Mu'azzam, to whom he had not paid the money he had promised to him before his accession. Mu'azzam, making use of the excuse of searching for a runaway Egyptian emīr, tried to seize Ḥamāh while Nāṣir was away on a hunting expedition, but the latter managed to reach Ḥamāh a day before his uncle arrived, and prepared to defend the city. Mu'azzam, his plan having failed, did not attack, for to capture Ḥamāh would have meant a long siege.

He went on to Salamiyya, which he seized, and leaving a governor he went to Ma'arra.¹ This was at the end of Dhil Hijja.

Ibn Wāṣil and his father were then at Ma'arra, where Sālim was Qāḍī. He and the other leading men of the town came out to meet Mu'azzam, who received them favourably, but Nāṣir's governor, Shihāb ad dīn b. al Quṭb, fled. Mu'azzam's eldest son, Nāṣir Dā'ūd, was with his father, and this was the first time that Ibn Wāṣil met him. He was now a boy of sixteen, and Ibn Wāṣil was a year younger. Mu'azzam stayed in the Dar as Salṭana on the West of the town, and negotiation went on between him and Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān, conducted by Shihāb ad dīn b. al Quṭb, with no result. While he was there, the ruler of Shaizar, (Shihāb ad dīn Yūsuf b. ad Dāya), came to visit him, and Ibn Wāṣil describes the reception. His father gave Ibn ad Dāya a present of some valuable books, and he accepted part of the gift, the rest being given to Nāṣir Dā'ūd. Mu'azzam left after this for Salamiyya, and at the beginning of 620, he was obliged to abandon his attempts

1. Le Strange. Palestine. 495-497. The Franks captured it in 491, and Zankī took it again in 531. Ibn Wāṣil's father relates a story about his justice there, also told by Ibn al Athīr. 1702.f.3a. The rulers of Hamāh held it except when it was captured by Aleppo, 1079.p.495, 1702.f.316b. A fortress was built there in 631. 1702.f.292b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz was buried near by. (See Chapter 9, the Tarīkh Ṣāliḡī, note.)

to obtain Ḥamāh for his brothers Kāmil and Ashraf, alarmed at the prospect of his adding to his territory, sent an envoy from Egypt who joined with an envoy from Aleppo in urging him to return to Damascus. He was not strong enough to oppose their combined wishes, and retired to Damascus. Salamiyya was given to Muẓaffar, and he sent the emīr Ḥusām ad dīn b.abī 'Alī to take charge of it, and to repair its fortress.¹

This incident of 619-620 was the beginning of the estrangement between 'Ādil's sons which continued during the next four years and which had important results, one of them being Kāmil's summoning of Frederick II. We hear nothing more of Nāṣir Qilij Arslān until after the death of Mu'azzam in 624. In 625, Kāmil came to Syria to take Damascus from Nāṣir Dā'ūd, who had succeeded his father there. Ashraf, whom Nāṣir Dā'ūd had summoned from the Eastern Provinces to help him, came to an agreement with Kāmil, and this included the transfer of Ḥamāh from Nāṣir Qilij Arslān to Muẓaffar. Ashraf had refused to agree to this when Kāmil had proposed it in 619, and Nāṣir Qilij Arslān still looked upon him as a

1. This is the first appearance of Ḥusām ad dīn, Ayyūb's

Ustādh dār, and Ibn Wāṣil's great friend. See especially the Chapters on Ibn Wāṣil in Egypt.

protector. He was at Damascus, where ^{he} had come to meet Ashraf, when he heard the news of his agreement with Kāmil, and he returned at once to Ḥamāh to prepare for a siege.¹

Muẓaffar came to Syria with his uncle Kāmil, and was at the siege of Damascus. When Damascus was taken in 626, Kāmil went to Salamiyya, intending to go to the Eastern Provinces, and from there he sent part of his army with Muẓaffar to attack Ḥamāh.

Muẓaffar reached Ḥamāh on Wednesday, 2 Ramaḍān, and began the attack near the Bāb al Gharbī.² Nāṣir was well prepared and the fortress of Ḥamāh was almost impregnable. Ibn Wāṣil thinks that Nāṣir could have stood a long siege if he had persevered, and that Kāmil would have given him territory in exchange for Ḥamāh, or would have been satisfied with part of his territory, if he had been willing to come to an agreement. He came down from the citadel to the wall by the Bāb al Gharbī, where Muẓaffar's engines of war were, and he was daunted by the array of troops which surrounded it. A

1. 1702.f.253a.

2. This gate is the most frequently mentioned, and was evidently the main gate of the city. 1079.p.490. 1702.f.154a.etc. Others are the Bāban Naṣr, and the Bāb al 'Amyān, (1079.p. 490) and the Bāb Dimashq, in an outer brick wall built by Muẓaffar II. 1702.f.316b.

man was killed by a stone from one of the catapults just by his side, and he lost his nerve. He resolved to leave the city, and a fortnight later (17 Ramadān) he slipped out by night and gave himself up to Mujāhid of Ḥomṣ, who was with Muẓaffar. Mujāhid took him to Kāmil at Salamiyya, and Kāmil greeted him with an outbreak of furious rage, upbraiding him for many things which had happened during the last few years and for which he had been unable to retaliate, because Ashraf had protected him. He was imprisoned, and forced to send a token to his deputies in Ḥamāh, ordering them to surrender the city.

In the citadel of Ḥamāh were a number of Manṣūr's servants, and in particular Shujā' ad dīn Murshid.¹ Manṣūr's children were there. When Nāṣir's letter arrived, two days after his departure, opinion was divided, but some of them

1. He was a servant of Manṣūr, and went to Egypt with Muẓaffar in 616.1702.f.199b. When Muẓaffar was ill in 639, he was one of those who took charge, and he continued to do so during the minority of Manṣūr II. Manṣūr left him in control when he left Ḥamāh on several occasions, and he it was who handed over Ḥamāh to the Tartars in 658, thus saving it from destruction. He died in 669, and was buried in the Ḥanafī school which he founded, see Chapter I. He was a man of many good works and aḥms, and much faith and piety. Supplement, 1702.f.437b.

refused to obey the order. The reason given is not dislike of Muzaffar but fear of Kāmil, as it was thought that he would take Ḥamāh for himself. A number of Manṣūr's children were there, and a young son of Malika Khātūn, Malik Mu'izz, was now proclaimed sovereign. He rode through the town, and the people proclaimed their allegiance to him. Two envoys¹ next arrived from Kāmil and they were allowed to enter the town, but not to go up to the citadel. The young Malik Mu'izz² was sent down to them, and made them a spirited speech. "This castle," he said, "belongs to me and to my brothers, and one of us is going to rule it. If one of us dies another will take his place, and there is nothing between us and those who attack us but the sword." He returned to the citadel, and the envoys were greeted with shouts and stones from the populace as they left the city.

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1. They were a brother of Saladin's leading lawyer, Diyā ad dīn 'Īsa al Hakkārī, called Majd ad dīn, and a man called Sābiq ad dīn Mithqāl al Jamdār, who was in the service of the Fātimid 'Āḍid, and who lived until Ayyūb's reign in Egypt. He thus saw the beginning and end of the Ayyūbid rule in Egypt. Ibn Wāṣil probably knew him there. 1702.f.259a
 2. Shihāb ad dīn does not mention him. Abulf.IV.358-360 quotes Ibn Wāṣil. We do not know what happened to him later.

After this failure, Kāmil decided that Muẓaffar must arrange the matter himself with his own people, and wrote to him to this effect. Negotiations followed, and it was agreed that Ḥamāh should be handed over to him. The Qāḍī Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm was sent with other lawyers to take an oath from him not to punish anyone for their service to Nāṣir. This was on the 27 Ramaḍān. A number of leading men then went out to meet him, in a pavilion¹ which Nāṣir had built by the Orontes, to the North of Taqī ad dīn's grave. They included Ibn Wāṣil's maternal uncle, the Qāḍī Burhān ad dīn Isma'īl b. abi-d-Damm. They stipulated that none of Kāmil's soldiers should enter the city, but that he should come with his private retinue only. At dawn on the 28 Ramaḍān, he came to the Bāb an Naṣr, which was unlocked to admit him, and locked again behind him, and he went to his father's house, the Dār al Akram, in the Upper Town. There the whole town came in the morning to greet him and kiss his hand. On the 'Īd al Fiṭr he held a great feast, and was allowed to enter the citadel on the day after.²

Muẓaffar kept his promise not to take revenge upon those who had served his brother, and he conciliated the people by investing the officials with robes of honour, lowering taxation,

1. Jausaq.

2. Ibn Wāṣil says that he entered it before the feast.

and sitting in person to hear complaints in the Dār al 'Adl. Ibn Wāṣil says that the people were glad to have him back remembering their oath to him before his father's death, and knowing his courage and intelligence. He dwells on the popularity of the house of Taqī ad dīn in Ḥamāh, where all in the town had grown up under their beneficent rule. Muẓaffar seems to have been very successful in consolidating his position, despite the atmosphere of suspicion in which, not unnaturally, he began his reign, and such men as Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm and Shujā' ad dīn Murshid passed over to his service without difficulty and continued in it loyally. He was left with Ḥamāh and Ma'arra, Salamiyya being given to Mujāhid of Ḥomṣ, and Bārīn to Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān.

Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān was released by Kāmil after a while, and given Bārīn, and he was also supposed to have the money which was in the citadel of Ḥamāh. He was attacked by the Franks, at the end of the year, and they plundered Bārīn.

Muẓaffar sent him part of the money from the citadel, and he sent it back, saying that he wanted the whole of it.¹ The result of this was that he never obtained any of it. He stayed in Bārīn until 630, when Muẓaffar obtained Kāmil's permission to take it from him, being afraid that the Franks would capture it, as he was too weak to defend it. Nāṣir agreed to hand it over, and went to Egypt, refusing to stay

1. 1702.f.261a-b.

with Muẓaffar. Kāmil offered to give him the property which used to belong to his father there, and Nāṣir refused this offer. He was rude to the messenger, and this mistake cost him his freedom, for Kāmil put him in prison, and he died in the Qal'at al Jabal in Cairo a few days before the death of Kāmil in 635.¹

The picture that we have of Nāṣir Qiliġ Arslān is not attractive. We must allow something for the bias of both Ibn Wāṣil and Shihāb ad dīn, who were servants of Muẓaffar, and there may have been another side to the picture, but it is noticeable that Shihāb ad dīn is in no way concerned to blacken Nāṣir's character, and is not indeed as outspoken about it as is Ibn Wāṣil, who is writing fifty years after the events took place, and need not have given an entirely one-sided account. He calls him a coward and a weakling, and shows him as a mere tool in the hands of his counsellors.

1. 1702.f.287b.

CHAPTER 3.

IBN WAṢIL'S EDUCATION:-

DAMASCUS, JERUSALEM AND ALEPPO

CHAPTER 3.

Ibn Wāṣil's education:- Damascus, Jerusalem and Aleppo.

In this chapter we deal with Ibn Wāṣil's education, and more especially with the time ~~when~~ spent in Damascus, Jerusalem and Aleppo between the years 621 and 637. Ibn Wāṣil's is not the only account of the teachers and schools of this time, for Ibn Khallikān and Abu Shāma were both studying at about the same time as Ibn Wāṣil, and from the three of them we obtain much information about the men who taught Ibn Wāṣil and whom he must have met as he travelled about.

The first of Ibn Wāṣil's royal patrons was Mu'azzam b. 'Adil, who ruled Damascus for many years, first as his father's deputy, and later independently, (615-624). His power extended from Homs to Al'Arīsh, on the Egyptian border, and the chief feature of his reign politically was his relationship with his brother Kāmil in Egypt. He was content to have a nominal allegiance to him, and peace was maintained, but their relations became more and more strained, and Mu'azzam made various alliances with princes to the East in order to maintain his position against Kāmil.^{1.} He only

1. Kukburī of Irbil, in 621, 1702.f.222a, and 623, 1702.f.235b. and Jalāl ad dīn Khawārizm Shāh, in 623, 1702.f.236b.

maintained a small regular army (Ibn Waṣīl numbers them at 4,000 men,) but they were so well equipped and disciplined that Kāmil was afraid to attack him with his own much larger forces. Muʿazzam, moreover, was popular, and Kāmil's troops might have deserted to him. Ibn Waṣīl gives us a long and interesting obituary notice of Muʿazzam,¹ who was perhaps the greatest of the Ayyūbids after the time of Salādin and ʿAdil.

This period is one of the most flourishing in the history of Damascus. With the founding of madrasas throughout Syria by Nūr ad dīn and Salādin, the Syrian cities became increasingly important as centres of scholarship, and Damascus in particular being the capital of both these sovereigns, had a time of prosperity of which the reign of Muʿazzam was a continuation. By the time when Ibn Jubair visited Damascus (580), there were already twenty madrasas there,² and many others were founded after that date. Muʿazzam himself founded two, the Muʿazzamiyya Madrasa, (a Hanafī foundation), and the ʿAdiliyya Madrasa where ʿAdil was buried, and which was Shafīʿī. He was a generous patron of learning, and himself a scholar and a poet. Ibn Khallikān tells us of one device by which he encouraged scholarship at his court. He offered one hundred pieces of

1. See Summary, 624.

2. See Encyc. i. 902-910. Sauvaire, Description de Damas, JAS. série ~~III~~ ^{III} and IV, articles on the Shafīʿī and Hanafī madrasas of Damascus.

gold and a robe of honour to anyone who knew Zamakhsharī's Mufaṣṣal¹. by heart, and a number of people were half-way through learning it when he died.²

He was very popular in Damascus, and used to walk about the streets, simply dressed. His disregard of convention in this respect became proverbial. Often he would walk to lectures on grammar and law, and join the crowds who thronged the lectures of Tāj ad dīn al Kindī. He himself was an author, and his works included a work called "The arrow that hits the mark, a refutation of the Khaṭīb",³ which contained a reply to the attacks made by Ibn Thābit on Abu Ḥanīfa in his History of Bagdād,⁴ for unlike his father and most of the Ayyūbids, he was a Hanafī.

Round this sovereign gathered a large number of scholars, many of whom accompanied him wherever he went. Some of them were Persians, and others pupils of the great Fakhr ad dīn ar Rāzī, (d.606)⁵. The Persian Bundārī translated Firdausī's

1. Brock. i. 291.

2. IKh. ii. 428.

3. "As sahm al muṣṭib fir radd alā-l-Khaṭīb".

4. Brock. i. 329.

5. Brock. i. 506. Wuest.Gesch.294.IKh.ii.652.Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b.'Umar b.al Ḥusain, called Ibn al Khaṭīb, his father Taqī ad dīn having been Khaṭīb of Rayy. He was a theologian and philosopher, and his works became standard text books. 1702.f.284b.285b.

Shāhnām^h for Mu'azzam, and also abridged 'Imād ad dīn's history of the Seljūqs.¹ The most outstanding scholar there was the Shaikh Tāj ad dīn al Kindī, who was born and brought up in Bagdād, where he studied for a time. Subsequent to this he must have fallen on hard times, for he made a living by selling old clothes in Aleppo. He came to Damascus where Farukh Shāh b. Shāhanshāh, Salādīn's nephew became his friend and took him to Egypt. They returned later to Damascus, where Tāj ad dīn became a popular lecturer and had crowds of pupils. He was a grammarian and man of letters. Mu'azzam himself read Sībawaihi's Grammar with him, and Ibn Wāṣil saw Mu'azzam's own copy, with notes in his handwriting. Tāj ad dīn died in 613.²

The most prominent theologian in Damascus when Ibn Wāṣil went there, was Saif ad dīn al Amidī.³ He studied in Bagdād, and Syria, and taught in Cairo, but he was obliged to leave his post owing to the ill feelings he aroused. He then came to Hamāh, where he taught in Manṣūr's school, and wrote most

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1. Al Fath b. 'Alī b. al Fath Al Bundārī al Isfahānī. Wuest. Gesch. 312. Brock. i. 321. d. c. 680 A.H. The abridgment of 'Imād ad dīn's history, (ed. ^{Cairo, 1900} Leiden,) was made in 623. His translation of the Shāhnāmāh is ed. Cairo, 1932.
 2. Abul Yumn Zaid b. al Ḥasan. b. 520. IKh. i. 546-549. 1079 p. 239. A commentary by him on Ibn Nubāta's sermons is mentioned by Brock i. 93.
 3. Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. abī 'Alī. b. 551. He was a Hanbalī, but became a Shāfi'ī. Brock. i. 393 mentions only two of his works, including one dedicated to Mu'azzam, but he wrote

of his numerous works. He had promised Mansūr to stay there permanently, but in 617 at Mu'azzam's invitation he fled to Damascus, where he was made head of the 'Azīzī Madrasa. Ibn Wāṣil's father must have known him in Ḥamāh, and probably Ibn Wāṣil would attend his lectures in Damascus. Nāṣir Dā'ūd knew him, and discussed him with Ibn Wāṣil. He was dismissed by Kāmil in 630, as he was suspected of intending to return to Amid, and he died in the following year. He does not appear to have been popular. Ibn Wāṣil says that he was always running down Fakhr ad dīn ar Rāzī, whose equal he considered himself to be, because he was jealous of the fame which the other had attained, while he himself remained comparatively unknown. The poet Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain¹ satirised him, being a great admirer of Fakhr ad dīn ar Rāzī. A discussion is recorded in which a number of other scholars, (Tāj ad dīn

about 20. Ibn Wāṣil says that he wrote one for Nāṣir Dā'ūd called Farā'id al Qalā'id. He was a friend of Ibn abī Uṣaibī'a's father, and wrote books on medicine. IKh.ii.235.Us.ii.174-5. Ibn Wāṣil gives a long biography of him, (see summary, 630 A.H.). He says that Nāṣir Dā'ūd greatly admired him, and that he considered all the other scholars in Damascus "mere chickens" compared with himself. See chapter 1.

1. See summary, 630 for Ibn Wāṣil's biography of him, also 1702.f.247b. He was Mu'azzam's Kātib al Inshā and was always with him. Saladin banished him for satirising Al Qādī al Fādīl, and others and he then visited Fakhr ad dīn ar Rāzī. Brock.i.310.Wuest.Gesch.317. Ibn Wāṣil quotes a number of his poems.

al Urmawī⁽¹⁾, Shams ad dīn al Khusrūshāhī² and others, all combined against him, and he came off victorious.

Abū Shāmā was studying in Damascus a few years earlier, and he attended the lectures of Fakhr ad dīn b. ʿAsākir, (3) Sakhawī,⁽⁴⁾ ʿIzz ad dīn b. ʿAbd as Salām, (5) and Saif ad dīn al Āmidī. His tutor was Taqī ad dīn b. aṣ Ṣalāh, who taught in the Dār al Ḥadīth founded by Ḥusām ad dīn ʿAlī al Hājib and was also the tutor of Ibn Khallikān when the latter came to Damascus in 632. He was a well known teacher of Tradition, and had been for a time head of Saladin's school in Jerusalem.⁽⁶⁾

Ibn Wāṣil came with his father to Damascus at Muʿazzam's invitation in 621, and stayed there for about six months.

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1. Muḥammad b. al Hasan. d. 655, when over 80, and was a Shāfiʿī professor at Bāgdād, Wiet Manhal Sāfi, no. 2102. He visited Kāmil in Egypt, and was outstanding in his knowledge of Theology and Law. 1702.f.312a.
 2. See chapter 4.
 3. Born in 550. d. 620, a nephew of the great historian, see Wuestenfeld, Stammtafel der Familie Banu ʿAsākir, No. 12. Orientalia ii. p. 169-172. He was for a time head of Saladin's school in Jerusalem 1702.4.224a. For Abū Shāmā's education, see Wuest. Gesch. 349.
 4. d. 643. Brock. i. 410.
 5. 1703.f.35b-36a gives an account of him. He was Khatīb in Damascus, and was dismissed by Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl in 639 for protesting against his alliance with the Franks, and he then went to Egypt. He died in 660. 1702.f.408b.
 6. IKh. iii. 469. ii. 188. He held three posts simultaneously in Damascus. 1702.f.224a. Ḥusām ad dīn ʿAlī was deputy

Mu'azzam was still in negotiation with Nāṣir Qilij Arslān, whom he had attacked in 619, and the envoy, a nephew of an old friend of Sālim b. Wāṣil,¹ brought Mu'azzam's letter to him. They must have left Ma'arra² sometime between 619 and 621, for it was from Ḥamāh that they set out in Sha'bān 621. They were warmly welcomed, and Sālim was in constant attendance on Mu'azzam. Ibn Wāṣil does not say what studies he pursued while he was there, nor does he do so for the other two periods of time that he spent in Damascus. (He was there in 625 to 626, and again from 635 to 637.) We may, however, assume that he studied with the scholars whom Abū Shāma and others mentioned.³

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- of Ashraf in Khilāṭ, and was murdered in 626, see Summary.
1. See Summary. The negotiations were conducted by 'Afīf ad dīn 'Abdullāh as Salmānī, who was much respected by the Ayyūbids, because he used to entertain them and their troops when they encamped at Salamiyya. He was the nephew of Hujjat ad dīn as Salmānī, (see chapter I, note.)
 2. One incident may be noted which occurred during their sojourn at Ma'arra. A man from Shaizar came with the Caliph Nāṣir's book on Tradition, the Rūḥ al 'Ārifīn, for which he said the Caliph had given him an Ijāza, and he read it to them. (618) For the Rūḥ al 'Ārifīn, see HKh. iii.482.1702, f.173b-4a.232b. Sibṭ b. al Jauzī wrote a commentary on it, HKh.6551.
 3. Abul Mahāsīn, (Manhal Sāfī, Paris 2072.f.128b), says that he studied Tradition with Al Hāfiz Zakī ad dīn al Birzālī in Damascus. A Zakī ad dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al Birzālī was the father of the historian, but he was born in 638, d. 699. Ibn Wāṣil's teacher must have been another member of the family. (Wiet. Manhal Sāfī, 2440, 1809).

We may complete this account of Damascus by referring to another historian whom Ibn Wāṣil must have met in Damascus, Sibṭ b. al Jauzī. He was there in 626, for he then preached the sermon deploring the loss of Jerusalem to the Franks, and he spent most of his life there from that time onwards, carrying on his great history, the *Mir'at az Zamān*, up to 654, the year before his death.¹

Ibn Wāṣil's father decided not to stay in Damascus, though, according to Ibn Wāṣil, Mu'azzam offered him the post of Khaṭīb of the Jāmi' Mosque there. He asked permission to go to Jerusalem and there to devote himself to religious exercises. Mu'azzam, says Ibn Wāṣil, was unwilling to let him go, but when he insisted, he made him head of the school there which Saladin had founded in the old Church of St. Anne, and which was called the Nāṣiriyya Madrasa. Saladin founded and endowed it in 583, after the capture of Jerusalem, and in 588 when he visited it he increased the endowments, adding "a market and its shops and a piece of land with its gardens." Ibn Wāṣil tells us the history of the place, which, he says had been a school before the Franks took Jerusalem. Bahā ad

1. Wuest. *Gesch.* 340, Brock. i. 347. Yūsuf b. Kizzughlī. Facsimile of *Mirat az Zamān*, 495-654, ed. Jewett, Chicago 1907. MS of *Mukhtaṣar Mir'at az zaman*, Brit. Mus. Add. 23279. He married the daughter of Abul Qasim, Qādī of Hamāh. Her name was Zainab, and she was a famous cook. She died in 644. (Facsimile, p. 507.)

dīn b. Shaddād was the first head of the school.^{1.}

Besides the Nāṣiriyya Madrasa, Ibn Wāṣil mentions two others, one of which was the Amjadiyya Madrasa, by the gate of the Ḥaram ash Sharīf.^{2.} Muḥazzam built a dome in the Ḥaram ash Sharīf, the endowments of which were to be confined to Hanafīs', and there Ibn Wāṣil studied the Qorān and the Idāh of Abū 'Alī al Fārisī.^{3.} Ibn Wāṣil describes the other arrangements made by Muḥazzam in the Ḥaram ash Sharīf, and gives the names of the teachers there, none of whom are famous. Muḥazzam visited Jerusalem himself in 623, and

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1. 1079 p.297. "He made the Church of St. Anne into a school for Shāfi'ī lawyers, and endowed it richly." (1702 f.24a has not such a good text.) 1079 p.411, (588 A.H.) "He increased the endowments of the well-known school. This school before Islām was called by the name of St. Anne. (Ṣand Hanna). It is said that in it is the tomb of Anne the Mother of Mary, on them be peace. Under Islām, it became a house of learning, before the Franks took Jerusalem. The doctor of law Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al Muqaddasī taught in it before the taking of Jerusalem by the Franks. Then when they took it in 492, A.H. they turned it back into a church, as it had been before Islām. When the Sultān captured Jerusalem, he turned it back into a school, and endowed it richly."

For details of the endowment, AS.ii.205. See Vincent et Abe Jerusalem, ii.2.pp.669-684, with the texts of passages concerned with the site, including Abulfidā's account of the founding of the school, which is taken from Ibn Wāṣil's. Vincent doubts whether there was a school there before the time of Saladin, the only evidence known to him for it being Abulfidā, but Ibn Wāṣil's statement is of far more value. He should have known the history of the school accurately.

2. Named after Amjad Ḥasan, full brother of Muḥazzam. It was a Ḥanafī foundation, and he was buried there for a time. 1702.f.247a.
3. Brock.i.114. A work on Grammar.

Ibn Wāṣil saw him one day in the Aqṣā Mosque, among the common people, who were jostling him. Another day he held an assembly of scholars outside the Dome of the Rock, and discussed points of law and grammar with them.^{1.}

One relic of Ibn Wāṣil's stay in Jerusalem is his description of the Holy Fire, which he himself saw. He describes the ceremony with a good deal of contempt, and he tells a story about an attempt to suppress the service. This was not done, as the story points out, because the Moslems found it a lucrative business, and took a double fee from everyone who came into the church for it, and so it continued, in spite of the protests of people like Ibn Wāṣil, who considered it an unlawful source of profit.^{2.}

In 624, Ibn Wāṣil's father wrote to Mu'azzam asking his permission to go on pilgrimage, which was granted. He took the vows of pilgrimage in Jerusalem, and put on the "Ihrām" there, a sign of special piety.^{3.} He stayed in Mecca as a

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1. All the officials except the Imām of the Dome of the Rock were Hanafīs. 1702.ff.246b-247b.
 2. 1702.f.24b-25a. Sibṭ b.al Jauzī, who lived in Jerusalem for ten years, has a contemporary account. Quoted by Amedroz, Ibn Qalānisi, p.68. note.
 3. In 583, when a large number of pilgrims went to both Jerusalem and Mecca in the same year, many people did it, but that was a very special occasion.

"mujāwir",^{1.} during 625, and did not return until 626. Meanwhile, much had happened, for his patron Mu'azzam died soon after he set out, and in 626 Jerusalem was handed over to the Franks. Ibn Wāṣil, who had been left in charge of the Nāsiriyya School, left it in 625, and was in Damascus, besieged by Kāmil, when his father returned.

Ibn Wāṣil probably stayed in Damascus until 627, when he went to Aleppo, where he stayed until Sha'ban, 628, Ibn Khallikān was there at the same time, and they both of them studied in Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād's School. Aleppo had not become a centre of learning to the same extent as had Damascus, but during Zāhir's reign, (589-613), many schools were founded, and scholars began to come there from all parts. This, says Ibn Khallikān, was due to Bahā ad dīn, who became Qādī of Aleppo after the death of Saladin, for when he went there, there were very few scholars or schools. He re-organised them, and many more were founded during his lifetime. He founded his own school in 601, and by its side he founded also a Dār al Ḥadīth, where Najm ad dīn b. al Khabbāz was appointed to teach. Ibn Wāṣil came to Aleppo especially to study under this teacher, and praises his knowledge of

1. One who resides in the sacred precincts for the performance of religious duties.

Theology, Law, Tradition and other sciences.^{1.}

Bahā ad dīn himself taught in his Madrasa, until he grew too old to do so, and he then had four ^{scholars} as instructors, (mu'īd) to take the lessons for him. Ibn Khallikān and his brother came to the school in 626; with a letter from Kūkbūrī of Irbil, and were well received by Bahā ad dīn, who had studied with their father in Mōsil. Another old friend of their father, the historian Ibn al Athīr, was then staying in Aleppo, with the regent, Shihāb ad dīn Tughrīl.^{2.} Ibn Wāsil must have known Ibn Khallikān for they both studied under Najm ad dīn b. al Khabbāz, and also under the grammarian and philologist, Muwaffaq ad dīn b. Ya'īsh. Ibn Khallikan gives us a glimpse into a lighter side of student life than usually appears from the accounts of the madrasas. This Muwaffaq ad dīn sometimes kept his pupils in fits of laughter during his lectures, and numbers of anecdotes about his witticisms were current. Another story was handed round, said to originate from Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād himself, about the comic effects of a drug on some of the students in Bagdad

1. IKh.iv.417.1702.f.270a.

2. He died in 613 (Kamāl, Blochet, p.184-5), and was buried in the school which he had founded. Ibn Wāsil may have met Ibn al Athīr, or heard him lecture, but the latter spent part of 627-628 in Damascus.

during his youth. The old Bahā ad dīn still taught tradition and as he now found it very difficult to move, the students went to his own room, which was very much over heated, both in summer and winter, greatly to their discomfort. We can picture Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Wāṣil nodding in a stuffy room while the old man discoursed.^{1.}

There are four other historians of note who belong to Aleppo at this period. One is Kamāl ad dīn b. al ʿAdīm, who had returned from his travels in 623, and who was used several times as an envoy by ʿAzīz b. Zāhir, (613-634). He wrote a very large Biographical Dictionary of men of his city, and later wrote the short chronicle of events there which we know, and which Ibn Wāṣil used.^{2.} The second was Ibn abī Tayy, a little known historian, whose works have almost entirely disappeared, and who is known chiefly by the quotations given from his life of Saladin in the Kitāb ar Raudatain. He

1. IKh.iv.p.379,417. 1702.f.293b-294a.

2. Wuest. Gesch. 345. Brock. i. 332.Cf. Chapter 13. He wrote Zubdat al Halab fī Tarīkh Halab, (Trans. Blochet, See Chapter 13), and Bughyat at Talab fī Tarīkh Halab, in 10 vols. He also wrote a book on the preparation of perfumes, Brit. Mus. Or. 6388, which is bound with a work on the ethics of eating. Another MS in the British Museum, (Handlist, 9.60), contains a collection of Bacchanalian songs belonging to this period in Aleppo, all of which indicate another side to the life in Aleppo than the one we have described.

wrote also a life of Zāhir of Aleppo and a history of Aleppo, which would be very useful, and it is possible that Ibn Wāsil used them for some of the facts about the history of Aleppo which he does not draw from Ibn al 'Adīm.¹ Ibn abī Tayy died in 630. Two viziers were also historians, and one founded a large library, which Ibn Wāsil would certainly use. This was Jamāl ad dīn al Qiftī, who died in 646, and who wrote books on Yemen and a Biographical Dictionary of judges.² The other was Jamāl ad dīn al 'Azdī, author of the Kitāb ad duwal al munqatica.³ Later in the century came 'Izzad dīn b. Shaddād d.684.⁴

The most outstanding poet at this time in Aleppo was Sharaf ad dīn Rājih al H^{ll}ṣi.⁵

One other side of Ibn Wāsil's learning may be dealt with

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1. Yahya b. Humaida al Halabī, d. 630. Wuest. Gesch. 316 gives thirteen works by him. The Escorial MS 314 is an autograph MS of a work of his on poetry, written in 618, (Derenbourg, MSS Ar. de l'Escorial, i.197), and Brit. Mus. Or. 7559 is supposed to be by him.
 2. Wuest. Gesch. 331.
 3. Wuest. Gesch. 309.
 4. Secretary and envoy of Nāṣir Yūsuf. Wuest. Gesch. 362.
 5. IḤ.ii.446. Ibn Wāsil quotes many of his poems.

here. He is said to have written books on Medicine, the only one of which we know being his commentary on Ibn al Baiṭār's book on Medicinal simples.¹ Ibn al Baiṭār was in Damascus in 633, when Ibn abī Uṣaibī'a² was studying there, and he was in Kāmil's service. He went to Cairo after Kāmil's death, but died in Damascus in 646. Either in Damascus or Cairo Ibn Wāsil probably attended his lectures, and we can take what Ibn abī Uṣaibī'a says about his lectures as an indication of Ibn Wāsil's own studies in the subject. He went on botanical expeditions with him outside Damascus, observing the plants which grew there, and he read Ibn al Baiṭār's commentary on Dioscorides' book on the names of plants. He also read the works of Dioscorides and Galen on medicine. Ibn Wāsil shows his interest in medicine in the Mufarrij by his details of the illnesses of Ayyūb and others, and he once refers to Galen when giving an account of the spread of an epidemic in Egypt in 656.³

1. See Chapter X. Us.ii.133. Brock. i.492. Wuest. Gesch. 231.

2. d.668. Wuest. Gesch. 350. Brock. i. 325.

3. See Summary.

Nāsir Dā'ūd of Kerak.

Ibn Wāṣil rejoined his father at Hamāh in Sha'bān 628, and at the end of the year a letter arrived from Nāsir Dā'ūd, inviting Sālīm b. Wāṣil to come to Kerak. They arrived there at the beginning of 629, and Ibn Wāṣil stayed there for the next two years. He takes a great interest in Nāsir Dā'ūd, and gives a very full account of him in the course of the Mufarrij (1)

Malik Nāsir Abū Muẓaffar Salāh ad dīn Dā'ūd was born in 603 (2). Ibn Wāṣil met him for the first time in Ma'arra in 619 when he accompanied his father on the expedition against Hamāh, and in the previous year he had gone with him to Egypt, and taken part in the recapture of Damietta (3). In 621, his father sent him to Irbil, ~~with whom~~ to stay with his great-aunt, Rabī'a Khātūn bint Ayyūb, (4) the wife of Kūkbūrī of Irbil, with whom Mu'azzam had just made an alliance. He stayed there for three years, and returned in 624, just before his father's death.

(1) see Summary.

(2) There is a biography of him in the British Museum (Supp. 557) written by one of his sons. It contains mostly poetry and letters written by him.

(3) AS. ii. 205.

(4) She died in 643, Abulf. iv. 482, AS. ii. 67. Ibn Wāṣil comments on the large number of her relatives who were sovereigns. 1079, p. 69.

59: 40

When Mu'azzam died in 624, Nāsir Dā'ūd succeeded him, and his uncle Kāmil recognised his claim to do so. Soon afterwards, however, he demanded that Nāsir should surrender to him the fortresses of Kerak and Shaubak, and he seized the opportunity afforded by Nāsir's refusal to come to Syria in order to take Damascus away from him. Nāsir appealed for help to his uncle Ashraf, who came to Damascus from Sinjar, ostensibly in response to his request. Shortly afterwards, however, ^{he and Kāmil} ~~they~~ came to an agreement by which Kāmil was to have Damascus, and Nāsir ~~Da'ūd~~ Da'ūd to go to Harrān. Ashraf began to besiege Damascus at the beginning of 626, and Ibn Wāsil, who was in Damascus at the time, gives a vivid account of the siege.

The situation was complicated by the arrival of Frederick II at Acca, in response to the invitation sent him by Kāmil in 624. Kāmil had done this in order that Mu'azzam might be weakened, and it had now proved an unnecessary step, since Mu'azzam had died in the mean time. Kāmil had to come to an agreement with Frederick, as he had asked him to come, and Ibn Wāsil gives a full account of their negotiations. Jerusalem was handed over, and Frederick was allowed to visit it. Ibn Wāsil's account is the best contemporary one that we have on the Arab side. The man who conducted Frederick round Jerusalem told Ibn Wāsil what happened. (1).

(1) Shams ad dīn, Qādī of Nablūs. Ibn Wāsil met him later in Kerak.

Kāmil came to Damascus when Frederick had departed, and it was captured of 626. Nāsir Dā'ūd was given Kerak, Shaubak, As Salt, Balqā, the Ghōr, and the districts round Jerusalem and Nablūs. He left Damascus for Kerak, much to the grief of the population, with whom he appears to have been a favourite. Ibn Wāsil says that they fought well for him during the siege, despite the hardships they had to undergo, and wept when Kāmil entered the city. Kerak had been saved for Nāsir Dā'ūd by the courage of his mother, a Turkish slave, who defeated and captured the men sent by Kāmil to take it. She lived until 672, though she was blind at the end of her life (1), and her advice settled Nāsir's policy on one important occasion. (634).

Nāsir Dā'ūd ruled Kerak until 647, though he lost his other possessions one after another before that date. Shaubak he handed over to Kāmil, and the Palestinian towns he lost to Ayyūb in 644. He was away from Kerak a great deal, and accompanied Kāmil on his expeditions against Āmid and the Bilād ar Rūm in 629 and 631. He visited Kāmil in Egypt in 630, and in

633, after breaking off his alliance with Kāmil, he went to Bagdad to seek the protection of the Caliph. In 634 he had to choose whether he would join the alliance made by Ashraf and others against Kāmil. The envoys from Damascus and Egypt arrived the same day, and Nāsir decided to refuse Ashraf's offer of becoming his heir, and go to Kāmil. This resulted in his again missing his chance of getting Damascus.

(1) 1702X. f.250 a.

Both Kāmil and Ashraf died in 635, and the next two years were a period of confusion, ending in the establishment of Ayyūb, Kāmil's eldest son, in Egypt, and Ṣālih Ismā'īl, a son of 'Adil, in Damascus. (1). Kāmil took Damascus, and was to hand it over to Nāsir Dā'ūd, who accompanied him during the siege. He then died, however, and Nāsir Dā'ūd had to leave again. He at first supported, then imprisoned Ayyūb, and finally accompanied him to Egypt in 637. He had taken Jerusalem back from the Franks earlier in the year. He soon quarrelled with Ayyūb again, and from 638 to 642 he was allied with Ṣālih Ismā'īl against him. The alliance was extended to the Franks, and Maqrīzī adds an interesting detail of the result of this alliance in Damascus. Ṣālih Ismā'īl allowed the Franks to come to Damascus in order to buy arms there, and this encouragement of an export trade in armaments aroused a storm of protest and led to the resignation of two of the leading officials. (2). The combined forces of the allies were beaten by the Khawāriṣmians at Gaza in 642, but in 643 Nāsir Dā'ūd was in alliance with them, and married one of their women.

In 646 we find Nāsir Dā'ūd negotiating with Ayyūb for the exchange of Kerak for Shaubak, but he broke the agreement directly he had made it. He remained in Kerak until 647, when he left it in charge of his favourite son, and set out for Aleppo.

(1) see chapter 5. (2) Mag. Blochet p.469.
(3) Mag. Blochet p.496.)

His two elder sons[^] and their mother (a daughter of his uncle Amjad Hasan b. 'Adil) (2), were jealous of the younger son whom he had promoted and they seized Kerak and then handed it over to Ayyūb. Nāṣir sent his valuables to Bagdād to be safely deposited with the Caliph, and he never received more than a tenth of them back again. For the last nine years of his life he wandered about, seeking protection from one prince after another. He went on pilgrimage in 653, and at different times was in Aleppo, Damascus and Homs. He finally died near Damascus in 656 of the plague which swept Syria and Egypt in that year.

- (1). The following is a list of Nāṣir's sons :
 Amjad Hasan, d. 670. He was responsible for the transfer of Kerak, 647; went on pilgrimage in 649; married a daughter of 'Aziz of Aleppo. 1702. f. 358a, 301a. 1703. f. 110b.
 Wiet Manhal Ṣafī, no. 886.

Zāhir Shādhī, 625-681. Wiet Manhal Ṣafī, no. 1159.

Muzāffar Ghāzī, b. 639, d. 712. He gave Ibn Wāsil accounts of Nāṣir's movements, 648, and of his death, 656.

Awhad Yūsuf, d. 698. Intendant of Jerusalem. Wiet Manhal Ṣafī, no. 2702.

'Adil Abu Bakr. d. 682. Wiet Manhal Ṣafī. no. 2748.

- (2). Wiet Manhal Ṣafī, no. 1294. d. 669. See chapter 3 for the school named after him in Jerusalem.

Ibn Wāṣil was at his court from 629 to 631, and again from 633 to 634. He knew Nāṣir well, and studied with him, and he gives an account of the scholars and others who lived with him. The chief of these was Shams ad dīn al Khusrūshāhī, a pupil of Fakhr ad dīn ar Rāzī, whom Nāṣir Dā'ūd had brought back with him from Irbil in 624. He stayed with Nāṣir Dā'ūd until he left Kerak in 647, when he went to Damascus, and died there in 652. He was not only Nāṣir's tutor, but also his chief counsellor, and was sent by him as an envoy on various occasions. Ibn Wāṣil studied Mathematics and the Rational Sciences with him. (1)

Another of Nāṣir's closest companions was Fakhr al Qudāt Naṣrallāh b. Burāqa b. Shīt, a writer of prose and poetry, and "a pleasant companion, of whose conversation one never tires". He had been in Mu'azzam's service, and Nāṣir loved him, but when Ibn Wāṣil first went to Kerak he had been imprisoned on suspicion of corresponding with Nāṣir's enemy, Ashraf. He told Ibn Wāṣil about his sufferings in the dungeon, and was released soon afterwards, his skill in letter writing regaining for him Nāṣir's favour. (2)

Poetry as well as learning occupied the attention of the court at Kerak, and Nāṣir Dā'ūd was himself a poet. Ibn Wāṣil considers him the second best poet among the Ayyūbids, Amjad of Ba'albek being the best, and he gives a great many of Nāṣir's poems.

(1) Ibn abī Usaibi'a met him in Damascus, and gives an account of him. Us. ~~iii~~ ii. 173-4.

(2) 1702. ff. 279a-281b.

Sharaf ad din Rājih al Hillī also came to Kerak from Aleppo.

Another man used to entertain the court with conjuring tricks. (1)

In 629, Kāmil visited Nāsir Dā'ūd at Kerak, and Ibn Wāsil describes the preparations which were made on a great scale for his entertainment. A public banquet was held, when the common people were allowed to rifle a table heaped with food and surrounded by towers of a kind of sweet called "Halwā" (2). Kāmil and Nāsir stood by, laughing as the people fell on the table, climbed the towers, and tumbled down again. It was a Turkish custom. A wedding was arranged the next day between Nāsir Dā'ūd and one of Kāmil's daughters, Āshūra Khātūn.

Salim b. Wāsil left Kerak in 629, and died in Hamāh, and his son was given the position he had held. He set out with Nāsir in 631, when the latter was going to the Bilād ar Rūm, but left him at Salamiyya. He probably spent the next two years in Hamāh, but in 633 he met Nāsir Dā'ūd in Damascus and went back with him to Kerak. He finally left him at the beginning of 634, and never saw him again. In 641, when he was on his way to Egypt, he passed through Jerusalem when Nāsir Dā'ūd was there, but he avoided him, being afraid that Nāsir would not let him go. Ayyūb was a far more promising patron, and Ibn Wāsil was wise to abandon a prince who, whether through bad luck or bad management, was so constantly unsuccessful. But he may have had some twinges of conscience as he went to the rival of his former friend.

(1). 1703. f. 131b. 1702. f. 274a.

(2) It is still made in Palestine.

The Rise of Ayyūb.

From 626 until 635 Damascus was ruled by Ashraf , and he and his brother, Kāmil, cooperated on various campaigns. Kāmil himself was ruling Egypt, and his younger son ʿAdil was there with him, as his heir, while the elder son Ayyūb was, from 629 onwards, in the Eastern provinces, which he was to inherit from his father. The death of Ashraf in 635, followed by the death of Kāmil a few months later, led to a period of confusion, during which the other members of the family struggled to divide the lands they had ruled, and it is this period, ending with the establishment of Ayyūb in Egypt in 637, that we describe in this chapter. Ibn Wāṣil was in Damascus for most of the time, and as he knew Ayyūb and his followers very well, he gives a detailed account of the somewhat bewildering changes of fortune which took place. His patron Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh also played no small part in them, and Ibn Wāṣil was in an excellent position for obtaining inside information as to what went on. He is the best original source for these events.

Before ~~When~~ Ashraf died in 635 he had made an alliance against Kāmil and had made his brother Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Buṣrā his heir. (1). Ṣāliḥ came to Damascus immediately, and sent his son Maṣṣūr (2) to take over Ashraf's possessions in the Eastern provinces.

(1) see Chapter 8.

(2) Wiet, Manḥal Ṣāfi. no. 2470.

He asked for the support of his brother's allies in Homs and Aleppo, and they agreed to support him, but Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh refused to do so. Throughout the next few years he maintained his loyalty to Egypt, though he suffered considerably in doing so.

Kāmil came to Syria and attacked Damascus later in 635, and Ṣālih Ismā'īl surrendered it to him, and returned to Buṣrā. Nāṣir Dā'ūd was with him as it had been agreed that Kāmil should give him Damascus. Kāmil died in Rajab, and he was succeeded by 'Ādil in Egypt and Ayyūb in the Eastern provinces, but Nāṣir Dā'ūd, instead of receiving Damascus, was sent away and Jawād b. Maudūd b. 'Ādil took control of Damascus as deputy of his cousin 'Ādil b. Kāmil. He soon began to wish to rule independently, and after a victory over Nāṣir Dā'ūd near Nablūs at the end of 635 he was practically independent. He murdered the representative whom 'Ādil had left in Damascus, 'Imād ad dīn b. Shaikh ash Shuyūkh (1), and then changed his allegiance to Ayyūb.

AYYŪb came to Damascus in 636, after he had come to an agreement with Jawād to exchange Sinjar and other places for Damascus. With him came Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh, who had been threatened in the past^{year} from both Aleppo and Homs. He negotiated between Ayyūb and Jawād, and the latter left for Sinjar. With Ayyūb had come some Khawārisman troops who had entered his service, and they were sent with Muẓaffar to attack Homs, but without success, as Mujāhid bribed them to go away. Ayyūb himself hesitated whether to attack Homs, as Muẓaffar wished, or to go south to invade

(1) One of Kāmil's four foster brothers who were prominent in his service. 1702.f. 339a, etc. Ibn Wāṣil visited him in Damascus, and discussed Theology with him. 1702. 321b.

Egypt, but he decided on the latter course. He went to Nablūs and then to the Egyptian frontier, negotiating meanwhile with the Egyptian emīrs. With him went Husām ad din b. abī 'Alī, who had been for a time atābek of his young son Mu'azzam, but who had been summoned by Ayyūb to Damascus. Ibn Wāsil first met him in Damascus at this time. Husām ^{ad dīn} gave ^{Ibn} Wāsil information about Ayyūb and became his friend and patron.

Meanwhile Ṣālih Ismā'īl was planning to seize Damascus and making preparations in Ba'albek for the attack. He managed to conceal his intentions by intercepting the carrier pigeons which carried news to Ayyūb, and the latter was completely taken by surprise when in Ṣafar, 637, he heard the news of Ṣālih's attack on Damascus. His army deserted him (1) and went to join Ṣālih. He was left with a mere handful of men, among whom was Husām ad dīn. They fled by night to Nablūs, where Nāsir Dā'ūd took Ayyūb prisoner, and shut him up in Kerak. Husām ad dīn went to Damascus where he was imprisoned, afterwards being moved to Ba'albek. Ayyūb's other friends were scattered, some staying with Nāsir Dā'ūd, and some going to Hamāh, where Muzaffar gave them shelter.

Ayyūb was released in Ramaḍān, 637, and he and Nāsir Dā'ūd came to an agreement that Nāsir was to help him to take Egypt, and he was then to help Nāsir to take Damascus. They waited for a sign of support from the Egyptian emīrs, but none appeared and they were almost in despair when news reached them that some of the emīrs had seized 'Adil and imprisoned him. They invited Ayyūb to come to Egypt, and he entered Cairo in Dhil Qāda, 637.

(1) Ibn Wāsil left with the rest.

48. 5 (.

Muzaffar of Hamāh, meanwhile, had been watching the march of events very anxiously. He had realised the intentions of Ṣālih Isma'īl, and sent a force to assist in the defence of Damascus, but this was scattered by Mujāhid of Homs. When the news of Ayyūb's establishment in Egypt arrived, Muzaffar was overjoyed, and Hamāh was illuminated. He had sent the Qādī Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm on an embassy, the ostensible purpose of which was to announce to Ṣālih Isma'īl and 'Adil that he had at last changed his allegiance and would now serve 'Adil, but its real object was to give a secret message to Nāṣir Da'ūd, urging him to release Ayyūb. It was this, according to Ibn Wāṣil, that persuaded Nāṣir to assist Ayyūb on his advance on Egypt. Shihāb ad dīn was in Egypt when Ayyūb arrived, and was received very warmly by him and Nāṣir.

Ibn Wāṣil at this time was writing the Tarīkh Ṣālihi, which is the first of his works that we know, and which was dedicated to Ayyūb (1). He spent part of the time in Damascus, and the rest in Hamāh, where he met Ibn Maṭrūh, then a guest of Muzaffar's. (2) Another man whom he met at this time was the Qādī Badr ad dīn of Sinjar, who had entered Ayyūb's service when he was in the Eastern Provinces. While Ayyūb was in Kerak, he was sent as an envoy to the Bilād ar Rūm by Ṣālih Isma'īl, who wanted Kaikhusrū's support against Ayyūb. Badr ad dīn, however, advised Kaikhusrū to support Ayyūb, and on his return went into hiding at Maṣyāf, (3), where he stayed for a time before going to Hamah. He died in 664. (4).

 (1) see Chapter 12. (2) see Chapter 7.

(3) Le Strange, Palestine, 507.

(4) Abulf. V. 16. Wiet. Manhal Sāfi. 2700.

43. 5 8

Ibn Wāsil adds an interesting detail to this account. The ruler of Masyāf at the time, he says, was a certain Tāj ad-dīn, a Persian from Alamūt, whom he himself knew intimately. Tāj ad-dīn refused to give up Badr ad-dīn to Ṣālih Ismā'īl, and in the same year he persuaded Mujāhid of Homs to release a cousin of Ibn Wāsil's, who had been thrown into prison together with other Ḥamāh notables while on the way to Damascus. Ibn Wāsil's family had evidently some special connection with him, and it is noticeable that there was no enmity between Ḥamāh and its heretic neighbours. (1)

- (1) 1702. f. 333b-334a. In 573 Saladin spared Masyāf because their "neighbours" in Ḥamāh interceded for them. For two inscriptions put up by this Tāj ad-dīn see Oppenheim, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. vii. I. p. 18-20.

Muzaffar II of Hamāh.

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We have already described the circumstances which led to Muzaffar's establishment in Hamāh in 626. This was by no means the end of his troubles, for he was involved in constant wars, and when the settlement of Ayyūb in Egypt gave him at last the hope of peace, he was soon stricken by an illness from which he never recovered. Ibn Wāsil may well call him unlucky. In 627 he was fighting the Franks. In 628 and 631 he was helping Kāmil in his campaigns against Āmid and the Bilād ar Rūm. In 634 he was forced into an alliance against Kāmil by pressure from the princes who surrounded him, and for the next few years he was at enmity with Aleppo and Homs.

There are two threads in his policy; his alliance with Egypt, and his rivalry with Homs. The first of these, and his faithful support of Ayyūb during the vicissitudes of 635-637, we have already related. The second, together with his court and patronage of scholars, we will describe in this chapter.

There was nothing new in the rivalry between Hamāh and Homs; it has continued down to the present day. (1). During the reign of Mansūrī, we hear nothing of it, but the reign of Muzaffar was a period of great bitterness between them. The ruler of Homs at this time was Malik Mujāhid Asad ad dīn Shīrkūh, b. Muhammad b. Shīrkūh (2), who had succeeded his father Nāsir ad dīn Muhammad in 581.

(1) see the article by Gaulmier, Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales, Institut Francais de Damas, vol. 2, fasc. 193, pp. 73-91. He gives a modern example of a recent dispute between the two cities over the use of the Orontes, leading to a poetical duel in which Hamāh had the last word.

(2) 1702. ff. 334b-335a.

at the age of twelve. He was a great fighter, and was constantly engaged in hostilities against the Franks, but his troops were the only section of his subjects who were well cared for, and his cruelty and oppression were well known. He was no patron of scholarship, and while the two cities were serious rivals politically, there was no comparison between them from the point of view of literary achievement. When Ibn Jubair visited Homs, there was no Madrasa there, and during the time when Mansūr and his successors were encouraging and participating in the literary life of their city, Mujāhid showed no such interest. Homs produced nothing to compare with the succession of historians who came from Hamāh during this century.

It is noticeable that, even during the period of most bitter enmity between their rulers, there was some interchange in other ways. During Mujāhid's reign an historian from Hamāh, Muḥammad b. Barakāt (1), who wrote a history for Saif ad dīn b. alī 'Alī, went to Homs with his whole family, and entered the service of Mujāhid's son Mansūr Ibrahīm. One of the notables from Hamāh

 (1) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al 'Azīz b. 'Alī b. Barakāt al Hamawī wrote a short history for Saif ad dīn b. alī 'Alī (see later in the chapter) to read on his journeys. (Paris 1507). He also wrote a Tarikh Kabīr called Al Kashf wal Bayan fī Hawadīth az Zaman (see HKh. v. 217 for a reference to it.) In 627 he was dismissed and imprisoned by Hāfiz b. 'Adil of Qal'at ~~ak~~ Ja'bar, whose secretary he then was. He was released by the order of Ashraf, and fled to Rahba, where he entered the service of Mansūr Ibrahīm, Mujāhid's heir. In 631 he wrote a history for him called the Tarikh Mansūrī, from which these details are derived. (Rosen, Notices, St Petersburg, no. 159.)

whom Mujāhid threw into prison in 637, became later the vizier of Mansūr Ibrahīm. (1). Imād ad dīn b. al Qutb, who was twice Qādī of Hamāh, spent some time in the service of Homs, for he was sent by Mansūr Ibrahīm to Egypt as an envoy in 641. (2). During the reign of Mansūr I, a poet from Homs was at his court. (3).

The immediate cause of contention between Muzaffar and Mujāhid was the town of Salamiyya, (4) which lay to the South East of Hamāh, and was used at this period as a camp and mustering place for troopson their way to the Eastern Provinces. It had been given by Saladin to Nasir ad dīn Muhammad of Homs, and was transferred to Taqī ad dīn of Hamāh in 581, when Nasir ad dīn died.

It was given to Muzaffar in 620, when he was with Kāmil in Egypt, and he sent Husām ad dīn b. abī-ʿAlī, then in his service, to take charge of it and rebuild its citadel. When he was given Hamāh in 626, however, Kāmil, who was staying in Salamiyya at

at the time, handed it over to Mujāhid of Homs, who was anxious to get it back. Muzaffar was angry at this, and was still more perturbed when in the following year Mujāhid built a new fortress (Shumaimis) on a hill outside Salamiyya, and destroyed the citadel. Muzaffar tried to prevent him, but was not able to

(1) Mukhlis ad dīn Ibrahīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Qarnās became Mansūr's vizier in 644, and was killed in 646. 1702.f. 353a.

(2) see chapter 2.

(3) Sālim b. Saʿāda al Himsī, 1702. f. 496.

(4) Le Strange, Palestine, 528.

do so. In 635 he was given permission by Kāmil to retake Salamīyya, but no sooner had he done so than Kāmil died. This was the signal for a move against Muẓaffar from both Aleppo and Homs. Ibn Wāṣil gives a vivid description of what happened when the news reached Mujāhid. He had been expecting at any moment the arrival of Kāmil's troops to attack him, and when the message came "he almost flew for joy", and went out to play polo, despite his sixty six years. He sent deputies to retake Salamīyya, and immediately began to harry the villages of Hamāh. He then resolved to take Hamāh itself, and conceived the idea of diverting the Orontes, so that Hamāh which had no wall on the river bank, should be left unprotected. This had been done by a "Queen of old time", who built a dam at the exit of the river from the Lake of Qadas.. Mujāhid's dam turned the waters of the Orontes into another valley for two days, but the water then broke the dam and returned to its old course. Mujāhid destroyed Salamīyya in the following year, and moved its population to Homs. It was rebuilt after his death.

Meanwhile the news of Kāmil's death had been received with almost as much relief in Aleppo. 'Azīz b. Zāhir had died there in the previous year (634), and his mother, Safīyya Khātun bint 'Adil (1) was now controlling its policy on behalf of the young Nāṣir Yūsuf, the son of 'Azīz, who was only seven

(1) She ruled until her death in 640. I Kh. ii. 446.

years old. She was making all preparations for a siege, expecting Kāmil would come and attack her. On hearing of his death she sent troops to attack Muẓaffar, and they took Ma'arra from him without difficulty. They besieged Hamāh until the beginning of 636.

When Muẓaffar heard that Ṣālih Ismā'īl intended to take Damascus during Ayyūb's absence, (637) he consulted with his courtiers as to what could be done to prevent this. His chief counsellor was the Isfahsallār, Saif ad dīn b. abī 'Alī, a cousin of Huṣām ad dīn. He had been with Muẓaffar in Egypt, and joined him in Hamāh soon after his accession. (1). He does not seem to have been a wise counsellor, and Ibn Wāsil criticises each piece of his policy that he mentions. He had been responsible for building the new fortress at Ma'arra in 631, and this strengthened the Aleppo army when it fell into their hands in 635. Muẓaffar, probably acting on his advice, had then destroyed the fortress of Bārīn, thereby leaving Hamāh open to attack by the Franks. The plan which they now devised was bound to end in disaster. Saif ad dīn was to set out for Damascus together with some of the army and of the leading citizens of Hamāh, so that they could help in defending it against Ṣālih. He was to give out that Muẓaffar was intending to hand the city over to the Franks, and that they were therefore escaping. This was in order to deceive Mujāhid of

(1) 1702. f. 117a. 350b.

Homs. who would be certain to try to prevent them passing through to Damascus. The party set out, and on reaching Hom̄s Mujāhid came out to meet them. Saif ad dīn was deceived by his apparent acceptance of ~~their~~ unlikely story, and accepted Mujāhid's invitation to enter the city. There they were seized and thrown into prison, and only a few escaped, those who had been wise enough to refuse to go into Hom̄s. Saif ad dīn himself was tortured, and died some time later, and many others died of torture, or only escaped after a long time by paying heavy ransoms. The party included a physician who was Ibn Wāsil's cousin. (Zain ad dīn Sa'd allāh b. Wāsil) , (1) and Saif ad dīn's uncle, Badr ad dīn b. abī 'Alī, besides others whom Ibn Wāsil names. Muzaffar was much weakened by their loss.

Mujāhid died soon after that incident, and his son Mansūr Ibrahīm succeeded him. He continued his father's policy of enmity towards Ayyūb and Muzaffar though in other ways he did not resemble him, and he treated his subjects well. His outstanding achievement was the defeat of the Khawāriṣmian invasion of 638. In that year the Khawāriṣmian troops swept into Syria twice, ravaging and plundering as they went, but the second time Mansūr pursued them to the Euphrates and there defeated them. They had come to Hamāh

(1) see Chapter 5 on his release.

but Muzaffar on this occasion reaped the reward of his loyalty to Ayyūb. They were nominally in the latter's service, so they spared his ally in Hamāh.

Ibn Wāsil gives us a picture of Muzaffar and his court. (1). Muzaffar was a good soldier, very strong, and in courage second to none of his family. He was good company, cracked jokes, and treated his courtiers well. He was also a patron of learning, and the most famous scholar at his court, apart from Ibn Wāsil, was the astronomer, 'Alam ad dīn Qaiṣar, who had been Kāmil's leading mathematician, and who had answered the questions sent by Frederick II to test Kāmil's scholars. Muzaffar made him head of the Ḥanafī school in Hamāh, and built a tower for him on the walls, and another on a mill by the river. These he used as observatories, and he invented mathematical instruments there. About a year before Muzaffar's death, he made him a wooden globe with all the stars on it. The work was done in the citadel, and Ibn Wāsil helped him with the measurements, while Muzaffar watched them and asked questions about^{it} and about Ptolemy's Almagest. 'Alam ad dīn had studied with a well known scientist of the period, Kamāl ad dīn b. Manā, in Mōṣil, and he told Ibn Khallikān, who knew him, that he had read forty books on science with Ibn Manā in six months. He died in Damascus in

(1) 1703. 49 a-b.

649 (1) Ibn Wāsil had studied mathematics previous to this time at Kerak., and later he wrote a book on astronomy. (2).

Another outstanding figure at Muzaffar's court was Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī. His father had been deputy Qādī of Hamāh and he had gone with him to Bagdād at the age of nine. Later he studied with Taj ad dīn al Kindī in Damascus, and went again to Bagdād. He was at Ba'albek for a time with Amjad b. Shāh-anshāh, and he taught Tradition in Damascus and Cairo as well as in his own city of Hamāh. He was Ustādh^{Dar} of Muzaffar, and was one of those who acted as regents during the minority of his son Mansūr. He was also a poet, and acted as a Poet & Laureate during the reigns of Muzaffar and Mansūr. His first poem^{is quoted by Ibn Wāsil} on the accession of Muzaffar is ~~quoted by Ibn Wāsil~~, and others are ^{often} ~~also~~ mentioned^{later}. He played an important part during the reign of Mansūr, and was for a time his representative at the court of Aleppo, where he wrote many poems to Nāsir Yūsuf. He was with Nāsir Yūsuf when the latter attempted to invade Egypt in 648. In 657 he was able to prevent a quarrel between Mansūr and his brother Afdal, and in 660 he was sent

(1) ~~1703 f. 49a. 1702 f. 1176b.~~
IKh. iii. 471-473 1703 f. 49a. 1702 f. ^{253b.} ~~1176b.~~
For Ibn Mana, see IKh. iii. 466.

(2) See chapter 10.

to Egypt on an embassy to Baibars. He died in 662. The fullest account that we have of him is by his grandson (1), the author of the Supplement to the Mufarriḡ, who was with him in Egypt in 660.

In 639 Muzaffar had an apoplectic fit as he sat one day with his court in the citadel. His illness was concealed from the populace, and for some time he seemed at the point of death. He became a little better, though he never entirely recovered his powers of speech. His wife, Ghāziyya Khātūn bint Kāmil, took charge, together with Shujā' ad dīn Murshid, Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī, and others. Ibn Wāṣil was much ~~dis~~ appointed at losing his patronage, and it was as a result of this illness that he left Hamāh for Egypt. Before Muzaffar's death, however, he sent an embassy to Bagdād, with which Ibn Wāṣil went. The envoy was Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm, and the main object of his journey was to congratulate the Caliph Mustafīm on his accession.

Shihāb ad dīn and Ibn Wāṣil set out from Hamāh on the first of Muharram, 641. They were away for four or five months, and Ibn Wāṣil gives a full account of the negotiations they conducted, not merely in Bagdād, but also in Mōsil and with the Khawāriḡmians. They left Hamāh with letters for Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo, Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' of Mōsil, and the Ortuqid Prince of Maridīn, Malik Sa'īd Najm ad dīn Ghāzī. (2). They spent a

(1) Manḥal Sāfī, Paris 2071. ff. 70a-72a. 1702, ff. 427a-434a. For the quarrel see chapter 9.

(2). 637-658, A.H. (Lane Poole, Moh. Dyn. p. 168.) There is a book about him by his vizier, Kāmal ad dīn Muḥammad b. Talḥa al Quraṣī. d. 652. Brock i. 463.

few days at Aleppo whence they travelled to Harrān, and on ~~the~~ through Rās al 'Ain and Dunaisur to Māridīn. News reached them of the advance of the Tartars into the Bilād ar Rūm, where they shortly afterwards defeated the Seljūq of Rūm, Ghiyāth ad dīn Kaikhusrū. At Māridīn, the Hamāh embassy stayed only one day, and they left it for Naṣībīn, where they found the Khawāriṣmians in possession. At Mōṣil they found Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' in negotiation with the Tartars, whose advance towards Mesopotamia was filling everyone with fear.. An envoy from the Caliph, Muhyī ad dīn b. al Jauzī, who earlier had spent some time in Syria and Egypt, was passing through on his way to Rūm. Shihāb ad dīn must have met him at Ayyūb's court in 637, and Ibn Wāṣil knew him. (1). One object of the embassy was to make peace between Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' and Sa'īd of Māridīn, and Shihāb ad dīn began to negotiate between them. Badr ad dīn received them warmly. Ibn Wāṣil recalls his hospitality in entertaining visitors, and describes the old man, now over eighty. The intelligence of his expression and his upright carriage were such that no one would have known his age, the only sign of which was his white hair. (2).

Badr ad dīn gave them a boat to take them down the Tigris to Bagdād, while their baggage went by land. There they stayed for two months, after which they returned by Mōṣil and Naṣībīn, Badr ad dīn gave them the news of the Tartars' victory in Rūm on their return visit. The most important piece of their negotiations was conducted by Shihāb ad dīn with the Khawāriṣmian

(1) 1703.f.21b.

(2) 1702 f. 386 b.

leader, Ḥusām ad dīn Baraka Khān, at Naṣībīn. These troops were still nominally in Ayyūb's service, and Shihāb ad dīn, according to Ibn Wāṣil, discussed with Baraka Khān through an interpreter the possibility of coming to Syria to pay homage to Ayyūb and give him active help against his enemies. (The Syrian princes, Ṣālih Ismā'īl of Damascus, Mansūr of Homs, and Nāṣir Dā'ūd were at this time allied with the Franks against Ayyūb, while Ḥamāh was continuing its traditional policy of support to Egypt.) Baraka Khān promised them that he would do as suggested, and in the following year he and his followers did come to Syria, recapturing Jerusalem from the Franks, (to whom Ṣālih Ismā'īl and the rest had just surrendered it), and defeating the Franks and their Moslem allies at Gaza. It is difficult to tell how far Shihāb ad dīn's visit was a determining factor in their action, but it had some part in bringing them to Syria.

Ibn Wāṣil passed through Aleppo again, and there met refugees from the Bilād ar Rūm, fleeing from the Tartars. There was great alarm in Syria as the news came of their victory. In Aleppo Ibn Wāṣil wrote some verses about the journey, one of the three pieces of poetry which are all he is known to have written. (1). He and Shihāb ad dīn reached Ḥamāh sometime in Jumādā i or ii. He must have spent about six months there, before he left for Egypt at the end of the year. Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm died in the following year, 642, after setting out on another embassy to Bagdād, to announce the death of Muzaḥfar.

(1). Manḥal Ṣāfi, Paris 2072.f. 128 b.
Ishawi, Brit.Mus.Or . 3037.

and to take his sword and helmet, etc. to the Caliph. He only reached Ma'arra, where he fell ill of dysentery, and returned to die in Hamāh.

We may here note one feature of our period which appears from the piece of history we have given in this chapter. This is the important position often held by women at this time. We have mentioned in this chapter two women who acted as regents, and both of them showed themselves capable of vigorous and efficient government, Ghāziyya Khātūn and Ṣafiyya Khātūn. Ibn Wāsil throughout the Mufarrij emphasises this point. He brings out the importance of marriage alliances among the Ayyūbids. All the rulers of Hamāh up to the time of Muẓaffar III married Ayyūbid princesses, and so did the princes of Aleppo. Nāsir Dā'ūd had two wives who were cousins of his. (1). We have already referred to Rabī' a Khātūn bint Ayyūb, who was married to Muẓaffar of Irbil, and who had great influence. To this earlier generation belonged also the "Sitt ash Shām", Saladin's sister, who founded the Shāmiyya Madrasa in Damascus.. This influence was not confined to women who were themselves Ayyūbids, for Shajar ad durr, the slave and wife of Ayyūb, was for a time ruler of Egypt, and Ibn Wāsil mentions details concerned with other wives of Ayyūbid princes, for example Nāsir Dā'ūd's mother. (2).

(1) and (2). see Chapter 4.

He seems to make a special point of mentioning the part that women played, and in his account of the years 634 to 640 he indicates the extent of the influence of Saḥḥīyya Khātūn, the regent in Aleppo, far more clearly than does Kamāl ad dīn in his corresponding story.

CHAPTER VII.

Ibn Wāṣil in Egypt, 642-648.

CHAPTER VII.

Ibn Wāṣil in Egypt. 642-648.

Ibn Wāṣil spent the next seventeen years (642-659) in Egypt. For all of this period, except the beginning of Baibars' reign, the Muffarij is the only full contemporary account, and as such it is of the highest value, since the period includes the last years of the Ayyūbid rule, St. Louis' Crusade, and the reigns of the first Mamlūk sultāns (Aibak, his son Maṣṣūr, Qutūz, and the first year of Baibars' reign). During Ayyūb's reign and the Frankish invasion, few could have been in a better position to write about the march of events, for Ibn Wāṣil was in close attendance on Ayyūb's right-hand man, Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī, when the latter was in Egypt. Other leading men of the time were friends of his, notably Jamāl ad dīn b. Maṭrūḥ,¹ Bahā ad dīn Zuhair,² and later the vizier Shams ad

1. Yahyā b. 'Īsa b. Ibrahīm al Miṣrī Jamāl ad dīn Abul Ḥusain, Brock.i.263. His dīwān is published with that of 'Abbās b. al Aḥnaf, Constantinople, 1298 A.H. (1881 A.D.) Ibn Wāṣil knew him well, and first met him in 636 in Ayyūb's camp at Damascus, when he was Inspector of the army, (Nāẓir al jaish) 1702.f. 323a. He then met him in Ḥamāh, where Jamāl ad dīn studied with him (637). Ayyūb used him as an envoy in 637, and he was Ayyūb's treasurer and for a time deputy in Damascus (646). He died in 649. 1703.f.72b-74a.108b-109a. Ibn Khallikān knew him. IKh.iv.145.

2. Brock.i.264. His dīwān is published with a metrical

dīn al Fā'izī,¹ and the 'Azīzī leader Jamāl ad dīn Aidughdī.²

(Note continued from previous page.)

Translation by E.H.Palmer, Cambridge 1876. He was Kātib al Inshā of Ayyūb in 636, when Ibn Wāṣil met him (1702.f.323a). During Ayyūb's imprisonment in Kerak, he stayed with Nāṣir Dā'ūd, and told Ibn Wāṣil about his joy at Ayyūb's release. 1702.f.335b. He had gone to the Eastern Provinces with Ayyūb. He acted as his envoy to Nāṣir Yūsuf in 645, and when, for some reason unknown to Ibn Wāṣil, Ayyūb dismissed him soon before his death, Bahā ad dīn entered Nāṣir Yūsuf's service. He was born in Mecca in 581, and died in 656, 1703.ff.70b-72b. 137b-139b.

1. Sharaf ad dīn Hibat allāh b. Sa'īd, called al As'ad, originally in the service of Malik Fā'iz Ibrahīm b. 'Ādil, (who attempted to supplant Kāmil in 616, and was the cause of the capture of Damietta by the Franks, see summary). He succeeded Tāj ad dīn b. bint al A'azz as Aibak's vizier, and Ibn Wāṣil often visited him in Cairo. He was murdered in 655, after the murder of Aibak. 1703.117a-b.119b.122a. He was with Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb in 647, and came with him from Damascus, where he had held a post under Ayyūb¹⁷⁰².f.365b.

2. See Chapter VIII.

The Egyptian school of historians does not begin until the end of the Century, with the biographers of Baibars. While Ibn Wāṣil is thus the main contemporary source, there is little to be found in his account which has not been incorporated by Maqrīzī in his *Sulūk*. He uses the *Mufarrij* very extensively, though usually without quoting it by name, and must have had other sources now lost to us. Throughout these years, however, there are details given by Ibn Wāṣil which Maqrīzī omits, so that though there is little new about the main facts of the narrative to be learnt from reading the *Mufarrij*, there is fresh detail and the vividness which comes from a participant in the events themselves, or the feelings aroused by them.

The main points in the account given by the *Mufarrij* of Ayyūb's reign are his relations with the Syrian Princes and the Khawārismiyans, his home policy (the increase in the power of the Mamlūks, and his patronage of letters),¹ and

1. Ibn Wāṣil, 1703, f.66a-b, gives an account of his buying of these Turkish Mamlūks, and their promotion at the expense of the Kurds, who had deserted him in 637, and whom he therefore did not trust. Their power increased during his reign to such an extent as to make possible the beginning of the Mamlūk dynasty.

the arrival of St. Louis' Crusade. From 638 to 642, all the Syrian princes with the exception of Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh (i.e. Ṣālih Ismā'īl at Damascus, Manṣūr at Ḥomṣ, Nāṣir Yūsuf at Aleppo and Nāṣir Dā'ūd at Kerak), were allied against him, and so strong was the feeling that they even entered into an alliance with the Franks, at the cost of giving them first Ash-Shaqīf and Ṣafad (639), and later Jerusalem itself (641). Ibn Wāṣil passed through Jerusalem on his way to Egypt, at the end of 641, during the short period of the Frankish occupation, and describes the desecration of the Ḥarām ash Sharīf, where Christian rites were being held. Ayyūb defeated these allies with the aid of the Khawāriṣmians, who came to Syria, ostensibly to help him, in 642. They recaptured Jerusalem, which the Franks had deserted, and routed the Franks and their allies at Gaza. Ayyūb's troops then took Damascus, and Ṣālih Ismā'īl retired to Ba'albek. The Khawāriṣmians shortly after this deserted Ayyūb, who had not rewarded them adequately, and one result of this was the end of the long-standing enmity between Egypt and Ḥomṣ. They and Ṣālih Ismā'īl attacked Damascus, and Ayyūb and Manṣūr of Ḥomṣ were both anxious to get rid of them. Manṣūr therefore agreed with Ayyūb to attack them, they retired from Damascus at his approach, and were defeated early in 644, their leader¹ killed and themselves

1. Baraka Khān. Ibn Wāṣil met him in 641, with Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm.

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dispersed. Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī was at this time Ayyūb's deputy in Damascus, and gave Ibn Wāṣil an account of the hardships suffered during this siege of Damascus. Following the defeat of the Khawāriṣmians, peace was made between Ayyūb, Maṣṣūr of Ḥomṣ, and Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo. As for the other two princes, Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl and Nāṣir Dā'ūd, the former lost Ba'albek in 644, and had to take refuge in Aleppo, while the latter lost everything except Kerak.

Ayyūb's chief military commander was Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī, whom we left in prison in Ba'albek.¹ Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl released him in 641, and he went to Egypt,² where Ibn Wāṣil joined him at the beginning of Muḥarram, 642. He then had a fine house in Miṣr, which had belonged to the Fātimids, and he had been given various fiefs, others being added later. Shortly afterwards he was sent to Syria to join the Khawāriṣmians, and he remained in Syria until the end of 644, when Ayyūb himself came to Syria, and sent him back to act as deputy in Egypt during his absence.² One of the last things he did in Damascus was to entertain Maṣṣūr of Ḥomṣ, who arrived there intending to go and visit Ayyūb in Egypt, but died before going further. Soon after his return to Egypt, Ḥusām ad dīn's father Badr ad dīn Muḥammad came to join him

1. See above, C.IV.

2. He travelled with 'Imād ad dīn b. al Quṭb and others.

(645) though he died soon after. Ibn Wāṣil probably knew him, as he lived in Ḥamāh, and he had been one of those imprisoned in Ḥomṣ with Saif ad dīn b. abī 'Alī (637).

Ibn Wāṣil at this time held a teaching post, head of the Madrasa established in the Jāmi 'al Aqmar by Saladin.¹ In 643, he had been with Ayyūb at Al 'Abbāsa, and he describes the ceremony held when the Caliph's envoy arrived with robes of honour for Ayyūb. In 646, he accompanied Ḥusām ad dīn to As Ṣāliḥīyya, the army station built by Ayyūb on the edge of the Ramal for troops on their way between Syria and Egypt.² Ḥusām ad dīn was in command there for four months, after which he went again with Ayyūb to Syria. The reason for this was the surrender of Ḥomṣ, where Ashraf Mūsā had succeeded his father Manṣūr in 644. He was attacked by the Aleppo army in 646, and as no help arrived, he agreed to exchange it for Tall Bāshir. Ayyūb, angry at this, hurried to Syria, and Ḥusām ad dīn describes the siege to Ibn Wāṣil. They had almost taken the city when they were obliged to return to Egypt, partly because of Ayyūb's illness, and partly because of the news of the approaching French invasion.

1. 1703.f.70a-b. He gives the letter appointing him in 644.

The Jāmi 'al Aqmar was a mosque built in Cairo by the Fāṭimid Caliph Al Āmir bi aḥkām Allāh (495-524), in 519, and turned by Saladin into a school.

2. 1702.f.351b.

Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī came to Cairo at the beginning of 647, and remained there as Ayyūb's deputy until the latter's death and the arrival of his son Mu'azzam. Ibn Wāṣil was with him in Cairo during this time, and gives his account of the fighting with the Franks as the news reached them there. News was sent by carrier pigeon, and prisoners were always arriving. The Franks arrived and took the deserted city of Damietta in Ṣafar. Fighting continued while Ayyūb's illness grew worse, throughout the next months. He died in Sha'bān, but death was successfully concealed for a time, as he had no heir in Egypt to take control, and those who suspected the truth were silent because of the Franks. He had not expected to die so soon, and had left no provision for the management of the Kingdom. Ibn Wāṣil is certain of this, because he thinks that Ayyūb would certainly have appointed Ḥusām ad dīn to take charge, while Mu'azzam was fetched from the Eastern Provinces. As it was, Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh ash shuyūkh took control, though Ayyūb had always been suspicious of him, and he was now in disgrace for abandoning Damietta. Forged letters continued to come to Cairo, ostensibly from Ayyūb, and Ibn Wāṣil pointed out to Ḥusām ad dīn the difference between the hand-writings.

Meanwhile messengers were sent from both Manṣūra and Cairo to summon Mu'azzam, Ayyūb's eldest son, from Ḥiṣn Kaifā.

He arrived just after the Battle of Mansūra, when the Franks were defeated after entering the town, and when Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh ash shuyūkh was killed. Ḥusām ad dīn went to meet him at Aṣ-Ṣālihiyya, and with him went Ibn Wāṣil, who describes the meeting, and was introduced to Mu'azzam after the latter had embraced Ḥusām ad dīn. He and Ḥusām ad dīn accompanied Mu'azzam to Mansūra, where Ibn Wāṣil saw something of the fighting against the Franks.¹ Mu'azzam's reign lasted only two months. He was murdered at the end of Muḥarram 648 by some of his father's mamlūks, the reason being his disregard of his father's responsible counsellors in favour of men who had come with him from Ḥiṣn Kaifā. Ḥusām ad dīn was one of those who suffered, for though he was sent back to Cairo for a time to hold his old position, he was soon recalled to Mansūra and set aside. The hopes entertained of Mu'azzam were thus quickly disappointed and Ḥusām ad dīn told Ibn Wāṣil before he left Cairo that this policy could only lead to a fate similar to that of his uncle 'Ādil, Kāmil's successor in Egypt.²

The Franks had meanwhile grown more and more exhausted, had retired towards Damietta, and had been cut off, St. Louis

1. 1703.f.85b.

2. 1703.f.88a. 'Ādil b. Kāmil was seized by his mamlūks in 637.

being taken prisoner, and only Mu'azzam's delay having prevented the immediate recapture of Damietta. Those now in power were Ayyūb's wife, Shajar ad durr, and 'Izz ad dīn Aibak, who became atābek of the army, Ḥusām ad dīn having refused the post. Their first task was to arrange the surrender of Damietta, and Ḥusām ad dīn conducted the negotiations with St. Louis. He described him to Ibn Wāṣil later, and gave him an account of some of their conversation. On Friday 3 Ṣafar, Damietta was surrendered, and St. Louis was released, and the following day he sailed away.

One feature of Ayyūb's reign was the number of Syrian scholars and others who came to Egypt. Ayyūb was himself not interested in learning, but he treated them well, and gave them allowances. Ibn Wāṣil gives the names of many who came, and also of the Qādīs appointed in Miṣr and Cairo, most of whom were not Egyptian. Ibn Wāṣil himself was given a post as head of the Jāmi' al Aqmar in 644. He brought with him from Syria for Ayyūb the history (the Ta'rīkh Ṣāliḥī) which he had written in Damascus in 636, and dedicated to Ayyūb, and which had never reached him. The two outstanding characters at Ayyūb's court were Jamāl ad dīn b. Maṭṭūḥ, d.649, and Bahā ad dīn Zuhair, d.656, both poets, and both friends of Ibn Wāṣil. He gives long accounts of both of them, and extracts from their

poetry, and he compares them with Saladin's famous Qādī Al Fādīl.¹

Mu'azzam, during his short reign, showed his interest in scholarship, and Manṣūra became a place for men of learning to gather. Ibn Wāṣil gives the names of many who came there to join him. Ḥusām ad dīn had told him to expect to find Mu'azzam a good scholar, and during the journey from Aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya to Manṣūra, he describes an evening spent in theological and literary discussion. He appears to have made a very favourable impression on Mu'azzam, and again in Manṣūra gives details of a learned discussion with him, this time on a grammatical point. He left with Ḥusām ad dīn for Cairo at the beginning of Dhil Ḥijja, and together with other lawyers was invested with robes of honour before leaving. When Ḥusām ad dīn was recalled to Manṣūra, Ibn Wāṣil stayed behind, in order to finish a work on Astronomy which he was dedicating to Mu'azzam. Thus it came about that he set out for Manṣūra only a day before Mu'azzam was murdered, taking with him also a copy of ^{the} Ta'rīkh Ṣāliḥi to present to him, and he heard the news of the murder on the way, from a Kurdish soldier who told him weeping that his master was dead. Ibn Wāṣil

1. 1703.ff.67b-74a. See the notes at the beginning of the chapter.

immediately returned to Cairo, where he still was in the following year. The historian Kamal ad dīn came to Cairo soon afterwards, on an embassy from Nāṣir Yūsuf, who employed him constantly as envoy to Egypt, Mōsil and Bagdād, and this is one occasion on which Ibn Wāṣil probably met him.¹

One other reminiscence of Ibn Wāṣil's belongs to this early period in Egypt. Some of the Fāṭimid family were still imprisoned in the Qal'at al Jabal in Cairo, one of them being a grandson of the last Fāṭimid Caliph, 'Āḍid, called Suleimān b. Dā'ūd b. 'Āḍid. Ibn Wāṣil had met someone who knew him, and described him as very stupid and ignorant. This seems probable as he spent the first part of his life in concealment and the rest in prison. He was looked upon as an Imām by the Ismā'īlīs of Egypt, and died in 645. The two old men who remained alive Ibn Wāṣil himself saw one day, when he went in to the Qala'at al Jabal. One of them, who was 'Āḍid's grandson, sitting by the gate, found out who he was and called to him. Ibn Wāṣil had an awkward moment when he taxed him with saying in one of his histories that the Fāṭimids were of Jewish origin, but he turned the conversation.²

1. 1703.f.98a.

2. 1702.f.34b. The passage is quoted by Paul Casanova, *Les Derniers Fatimids*. (Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, vi.3e.fasc.1893, p.440.n.2.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Ibn Wāṣil in Egypt, continued. 648-659.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ibn Wāṣil in Egypt, continued. 648-659.

The remaining eleven years of Ibn Wāṣil's sojourn in Egypt were a period of violence, of struggle between the Mamlūk factions, of ever increasing fear of the Tartars. The Turkish Mamlūks had become so powerful during Ayyūb's reign that when Mu'azzam tried to set them aside they were able to overthrow him, but it was not until the accession of Baibars in 658 that one of them was strong enough to produce a lasting government. The murder of Mu'azzam was the first of a series, and the same method dealing with opponents served as well to overthrow Aibak, Qutuz and others as it had to rid them of the Ayyūbid rule. Ibn Wāṣil recounts the tale of parties, plots and assassinations, partly from his own observation, partly from accounts given to him by his friends. He himself still held the post of teacher in the Jāmi' al Aqmar, and in 655 was made Qādī of the districts of Gīza and Aṭfīh, while in 658 after the accession of Baibars he received in addition the post of teacher in the old Zāwiya school, where Shāfi'i had taught.¹

1. 1703.f.84b. Ibn Duqmāq (ed. Vollers), IV.100.

It was not until Qutūz' victorious campaign against the Tartars in 658 that the Mamlūk rulers conquered Syria. Nāṣir Yūsuf took Damascus soon after Mu'azzam's death (648), and attempted to invade Egypt. From 649-651 negotiations between him and Aibak were conducted by an envoy of the Caliph,¹ and it was finally agreed that Aibak was to have Egypt, Gaza and Jerusalem, while Nāṣir Yūsuf kept the rest of Syria. Nāṣir Yūsuf also held territory in the Jazīra, and had taken Ḥomṣ from Ashraf Mūsā in 646. The last ruler of his line, he kept up the traditions of the earlier Ayyūbids, and in some ways was a by no means unworthy descendant of his namesake, the great Saladin. He was a poet and a wit, (Ibn Wāṣil gives examples of his skill in both directions), he was generous and kind, and mixed with his subjects instead of oppressing them. His father had died when he was only seven years old, and he had been brought up by his grandmother, the old "Ṣāḥiba of Aleppo", 'Ādil's daughter, who ruled his kingdom for him for six years before her death in 640. Then at the age of thirteen, he became independent. He was only thirty-six when he died. He does not seem to have inherited much skill as a soldier, for his attack on Egypt in 648 failed

1. Najm ad dīn al Bādirā'ī. He became Qādī al Quḍāt in Bagdād, in 655, and died soon afterwards, 1703.f.125a.

just at the point of success and he put up no resistance against the Tartars when they invaded Syria in 657 and 658. He sent Kamāl ad dīn b. al 'Adīm to Egypt to ask for help against them (Ibn Wāṣil was present at the discussion held in Cairo on the subject), but none came, and he finally went to join the Hūlāgū, who treated him well until the following year, when he killed him after his defeat at 'Ain Jālūt.

(After Mu'azzam's death, Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī still occupied a position of some importance. We mentioned his conduct of the negotiations with St. Louis. When the news came of Nāṣir Yūsuf's attack on Damascus, Ḥusām ad dīn was ordered to prepare to go to Syria, but as Damascus was taken before the army was ready to start, it did not go. The sequel to the news of the loss of Damascus was a threat to all the non-Turkish emirs, since it was certain emirs who had let Nāṣir Yūsuf into Damascus, and Ḥusām ad dīn, who was a Kurd, was greatly alarmed. Aibak sent a special message to set him at his ease, but his position must have been precarious. Later in the year, he fought in the battle against Nāṣir Yūsuf, who invaded Egypt, drove back the Egyptian army as far as Al 'Abbāsa, and was finally defeated and almost captured. Ḥusām ad dīn describes the battle to Ibn Wāṣil, who saw him and Aibak re-enter Cairo, with the prisoners, including Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl.¹

1. He was murdered a little while later. Ibn Wāṣil gives a full biography of him, 1703.f.106b-107b. His mother was a slave of 'Adil, and built a Shāfi'ī school. See also Wiet. Manḥal Ṣāfi 443.

Ibn Wāṣil also gives an account of the alarm in Cairo, where he himself was, and how they thought that Nāṣir had been victorious.

In the following year, Ḥusām ad dīn asked permission to go on pilgrimage, left his troops in Aṣ Ṣāliḥiyya, and made preparations in Cairo, together with a certain 'Izz ad dīn Ardān and Ibn Wāṣil, who were to travel with him. They travelled up the Nile as far as Qūs in only six days, and went thence overland to the Red Sea port of 'Aidhāb, where Ḥusām ad dīn hired a ship to take them across to Jidda. They travelled in comfort, and carried their own water from the Nile as far as Mecca, so as not to drink that of the stopping places. They stayed in Mecca for three months (Sha'bān to Dhil Qa'da), then went on to Medīna, where they saw the tombs of Ayyūb and Shirkūh.¹ They set out for home by way of Yanbū', where they met the yearly Pilgrimage, and intended to travel back with them by land. News reached Ḥusām ad dīn, however, that an attempt might be made by Nāṣir Yūsuf's troops to capture him on the way back, so that he waited a fortnight, then travelled with an Arab guide, who brought him to Cairo in fifteen days.

1. 1702.f.40b.

2. Wiet. *Maḥal Ṣafī*, 1625. There is an inscription mentioning him in Damascus, erected during Nāṣir Yūsuf's reign. JAs.1895 I.308. Muḥammad Rāghib at Ṭabbākh, *History of Aleppo*.vol.IV. p.305-6 has an account of him, mostly from Dhahabī. Ṣafadī, (Brit. Mus.MS.Or.6587.f.181a.) says he came originally from Irbil, was a poet and a man of letters.

The baggage was sent by sea, and took three months longer.

Husām ad dīn retired soon after this, and in 651, he asked permission of Aibak to go to Syria, where Nāṣir Yūsuf received him with great honour, and gave him fiefs. He died in 658.¹ Ibn Wāṣil remained in Egypt.

The next that we hear of Ibn Wāṣil is in 653, when he is in the camp with a friend of his, Jamāl ad dīn Aidughdī, a leader of the 'Azīzī party of Mamlūks.² These mamlūks had conspired to assassinate Aibak, and Ibn Wāṣil was there when the plot was discovered. Aidughdī, though he had had no part in the plot, was imprisoned. Aibak had become independent Sultān in the previous year, after ruling first as Atābek of the army under Ayyūb's wife Shajar ad durr (who held the title of the Sultānate for a few months), then as Atābek of the young Ayyūbid Ashraf Mūsā (649). This latter was a grandson of Mas'ūd of Yemen, d.626, and his father Salāḥ ad dīn had been brought to Egypt as a child and brought up there, by Kāmil. Ibn Wāṣil saw him in 642, and he was then just growing up, but he died soon after, leaving this son Ashraf Mūsā, who held the title of Sultān from 649 to 652. Shajar

1. See note 2 on previous page.

2. Ibn Wāṣil gives an account of the different parties of Mamlūks at this time, 1703, f.111a-b. The 'Azīzīs were responsible for the murder of Fāris ad dīn Aqtā'ī in 652. Aidughdī was kept in prison until Aibak was murdered in 655, when Shajar ad durr released him. 1703 f.120a. He was again imprisoned and released by Qutūz. 1703, f.121a. He died in 664, *Wāṣil, Naḥḥal Sāfi*, no. 588.

ad durr married Aibak in 653, but two years later she was responsible for his murder, a fate which befell her herself soon after. Aibak's young son succeeded him, but in 657 he was deposed by his Atābek Qutuz, who in turn had only ruled a year when he was murdered.

Ibn Wāṣil was made Qāḍī of the districts of Gīza and Aṭfīh in 655, soon after the accession of Manṣūr b. Aibak. In the following year he recalls the arrival of the news of the fall of Bagdād, and tells a story out of an "old book" about 'Alī b. 'Abdulla b. al 'Abbās, which was related to him the day the news came. In the same year, there was an epidemic, which swept Syria and Egypt, and a large number of notable people died, including Nāṣir Dā'ūd. It spread from Bilbīs to Cairo and Ibn Wāṣil himself appears to have been responsible for spreading the infection in Gīza, for he says that he went into Cairo, while everyone was down with the fever. He went back to Gīza, and immediately developed the disease, which all Gīza had soon caught. This is one indication in the Mufarrij of Ibn Wāṣil's medical interests.¹

The year 658 saw the Tartar invasion of Syria, and the first defeat they suffered at 'Ain Jālūt. The Syrian army came to Egypt without fighting the Tartars at all, and with them came Manṣūr of Ḥamāh, whose city had surrendered. He

1. See Chapter III.

stayed in Cairo for some time, and Ibn Wāṣil was introduced to him by his brother, who was in his service, and who is mentioned in 653 as going on pilgrimage and meeting Nāṣir Dā'ūd. As Maṣṣūr was only nine when Ibn Wāṣil left Ḥamāh they had not met before. He spent a good deal of time with him, and relates a conversation in which he gave him hopes of regaining Ḥamāh, a thing which seemed at the time impossible. Ibn Wāṣil accompanied the army as far as Aṣ Ṣālihiyya, when Quṭuḡ set out for Syria. It was Ramaḍān, and Ibn Wāṣil bade Maṣṣūr farewell one evening after breaking the fast with him.¹ Maṣṣūr went on with Quṭuḡ, distinguished himself in the battle of 'Ain Jālūt, and was given back Ḥamāh. Ibn Wāṣil was to rejoin him there not long after.

One more incident Ibn Wāṣil recalls during his stay in Egypt. As he was about to set out to rejoin Quṭuḡ and the army on their return from Syria, a man related a dream to him in which he had seen Quṭuḡ murdered. As Ibn Wāṣil was thinking about it, the news arrived of the murder, and the accession of Baibars, much to Ibn Wāṣil's astonishment.

In Ramaḍān, 659, Ibn Wāṣil was sent by Baibars as envoy to Manfred in Apulia. The Mufarrij breaks off in this month, when Baibars was preparing to go to Syria, and the account of Ibn Wāṣil's embassy is given us after Frederick II.'s Crusade

1. He accompanies the two verses which he recited in farewell by a note on the spheres. See Chapter III. 1703.f.160a-b.

in 626.¹ He went to Apulia, and met Manfred several times. Abulfidā says that he wrote a book on Logic for him, which he called "Al Anbarūrīyya".² Manfred, says Ibn Wāṣil, knew ten sections of Euclid by heart. Another envoy, Sirāj ad dīn al Urmawī, had written a book on Logic for Frederick.³ Ibn Wāṣil describes Manfred's favour towards Moslems, who managed most of his private affairs. Lucera, he says, was entirely populated by Moslems from Sicily. He also describes the struggles between the Pope and Manfred, ending in the latter's death in 663. While he was there, a man who had been sent in disguise from Frederick II. to Ayyūb to warn him of St. Louis' approaching invasion, told him the story of his mission.

Ibn Wāṣil does not give the date of his return, nor of his departure for Ḥamāh, but it seems probable that he did not stay longer in Egypt, and that he breaks off his work at the point at which he himself retires from close touch with affairs. He seems to have spent the rest of his life in his native town.

1. 1702.ff.121b-123a, quoted by Abulf.V.144-148.

2. Abulf.V.144.

3. 1702.f.121a. Maḥmūd b.abī Bakr al Urmawī, d.682. He was Qādī of the Bilād ar-Rūm. Brock.i.506. See also Chapter xii. (Date.)

CHAPTER IX.

Ibn Wāṣil's later years. Ḥamāh in the second half of
the Seventh Century.

CHAPTER XXI

Ibn Wāṣil's later years. Ḥamāh in the second half
of the Seventh Century.

Ibn Wāṣil was about fifty-six when he returned to Ḥamāh, and he lived to the age of ninety-three, for he died in his native town in 697. We have no autobiographical account of this period of his life, as we have for the earlier years, but we have certain details about it from the biographical notices of his pupil Abulfidā, Ibn Qādī Shuhbā, and Abul Maḥāṣin,¹ and we know much about the history of Ḥamāh during this time, and the men among whom Ibn Wāṣil lived and worked. It is this material that is collected in this chapter. For the later Ayyūbid princes of Ḥamāh with whom we are here concerned, Abulfidā's history is the main source, though the Mufarrij gives us our material on Manṣūr II. up to 659, and the Supplement to the Mufarrij contains some things of value for Manṣūr II. and Muẓaffar III.

Manṣūr Nāṣir ad dīn Muḥammad Abul Ma'ālī succeeded his father Muẓaffar in 642, at the age of ten. His mother Ghāziyya

1. Abulf. iv. 144. Brit. Mus. Add. 23362, f. 119a-b. Manḥal Ṣāfī, Paris 2072, f. 128-b.

Khātūn bint Kāmil, together with Muzaffar's ministers, had already taken charge during her husband's illness, and she continued to rule during her son's minority, with the advice of such men as Saif ad dīn Tughrīl, Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī,¹ and Shujā' ad dīn Murshid.² Manṣūr grew up with his brother, Afdal Nūr ad dīn 'Alī, (the father of Abulfidā), who was three years his junior (b.635), and three sisters, all children of Ghāziyya Khātūn.⁴ He was married in 645,³ to his cousin 'Ashiyya Khātūn, daughter of 'Azīz of Aleppo and another daughter of Kāmil, Fāṭima Khātūn. The two sisters, Ghāziyya Khātūn and Fāṭima Khātūn had travelled together to Ḥamāh and Aleppo, to join their husbands, in 629. Manṣūr's wife must have been about his own age, for her father 'Azīz died in 634. Her mother came with her to Ḥamāh in 645, the city was decorated to greet them, and there were great rejoicings. It was twelve years before her son Muzaffar was born.

1. See above, Chapter VI.

2. See above, Chapter II., note.

3. The marriage was arranged in Aleppo in 644. 1703.f.53a (omitted by 1702.f.346a).

4. 1703.f.126b-127a. One of the daughters was Mūnisa Khātūn, b.633, d.703, the last of Muzaffar's children to survive. She founded and endowed a school called the Khātūniyya in Ḥamāh. Abulf.v.192.

There is little recorded in which Ḥamāh took part during the next few years. Embassies were sent after Muẓaffar's death(642) to Bagdād and Egypt. In 643, Ayyūb, having taken Damascus from Ṣālih Ismā'īl, handed over Salamīyya to Manṣūr's deputies. In 647 an envoy was sent to Damascus to congratulate Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb on his accession, as he passed through on his way to Egypt.¹ In 655, Ghāzīyya Khātūn died, and was buried in the citadel, beside one of her daughters who had died not long before and whose tomb she had endowed. Ibn Wāṣil praises her piety and justice, and says that her sons owed their good qualities to her.² She died disappointed, for her son still had no child, and it was not until 657 that Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn 'Umar was born amid great rejoicings.³

Saiḥ ad dīn Tughrīl, who had acted as Atābek of Manṣūr, had died in 654,⁴ so that from now onwards Manṣūr framed his own policy. We find him in 657 accompanying Nāṣir Yūsuf, his brother-in-law, in an attack on Kerak. In the following year, ~~where~~ he joined him again at Barza,⁵ where Nāṣir was waiting to meet the Tartars, retired with him to Damascus,

1. 1702.f.365a. It was Zain ad dīn b. Mauhūb, see note on Chapter I.

2. 1703.f.127a-b.

3. 1702.f.392b. Manṣūr also had daughter Fāṭima Khātūn, d.721. Abulf.V.346.

4. 1703.f.126b.

5. Le Strange, Palestine, p.420, near Damascus.

when the news arrived of the fall of Aleppo, and went with the Syrian army to Egypt in hopes of getting help from Quṭuḡ. There Ibn Wāṣil met him for the first time.¹ He distinguished himself at the battle of 'Ain Jālūt, was given Ḥamāh, Bārin and Ma'arra by Quṭuḡ, and returned to Ḥamāh soon afterwards.

Ḥamāh meanwhile had been held by a governor of the Tartars. When the news arrived by pigeon of the fall of Aleppo, there was great alarm. The city was full of refugees from Aleppo and now most of the people of Ḥamāh began to leave. Shujā'ad dīn Murshid was in charge, and he and others took the keys of the town, and set off for Aleppo, where they saw Hūlāgū and agreed to hand over the city to him, if he would spare the inhabitants. A governor was sent to take over the town, a Persian called Khusrūshāh, and a little while afterwards, Ashraf Mūsā b. Mujāhid of Homs, who had joined the Tartars and had been set over the deputies in Aleppo, etc., came to Ḥamāh with orders from Hūlāgū to destroy the walls. The stores were brought out of the citadel, and some sold and some burnt, the ammunitions were burnt, and the books from the Dār as Saltāna were sold cheap. Ashraf destroyed the walls of the citadel, but those of the town were saved by a man who took a bribe to the governor Khusrūshāh and persuaded him to

1. See above, Chapter VIII.

stop Ashraf, because of the danger of attack by the Franks if the city was left unprotected.¹ Khusrūshāh left Ḥamāh before the arrival of Manṣūr. When he heard the news of the Moslem victory at 'Ain Ḥālūt in Ramaḍān, he gave out that the Franks were about to attack Ḥamāh, and slipped away while the whole city was occupied in preparations.

Manṣūr was not secure until the following year, and indeed the threat of another Tartar invasion was never far off during the whole of his reign. At the end of 658, the Tartars returned to Aleppo, and came to Ḥamāh in pursuit of some Aleppo troops who had retired before them and had gone through Ḥamāh to Ḥomṣ. Manṣūr had gone with them, after entertaining them in Ḥamāh, and had left Shujā'ad dīn Murshid in charge. The Tartars expected to be let in, as in the previous year, but the people of Ḥamāh would not trust them (Ibn Wāṣil says it was because Khusrūshāh was not with them), and only sent out some food to them. They went on towards Ḥomṣ, where Ashraf Mūsā had managed to persuade the Aleppo troops and Manṣūr to stay to meet them, instead of retiring to Damascus without giving battle, and in Muharram 659 they were defeated by the Moslem forces. Certain people in Ḥamāh, who had wanted to let the Tartars in, were set upon, one

1. Ashraf Mūsā went on to his own town of Ḥomṣ, where he only destroyed a small part of the fortifications(1703.f.152a). Hūlāgū had already destroyed the walls and citadel of Aleppo, which were repaired in 690, A.H. (Abulf.v.100).

lynched, and the rest thrown into prison. Manṣūr returned, and the Tartars again appeared outside Ḥamāh, made an attack which owing to their exhausted condition only lasted one day, and then went back to the Eastern Provinces.

Manṣūr went off for a visit to Damascus,¹ leaving Shujā' ad dīn Murshid in charge, but soon returned, as the people made him promise that he would not stay away, they being still afraid of the return of the Tartars. Later in the year, the rebel Shams ad dīn Burlū passed by Ḥamāh on his way to Aleppo. Manṣūr was warned by a spy² in Shams ad dīn's army that a party in Ḥamāh were planning to let him in, and so was able to prevent it, though he was politic enough not to punish the offenders. Shams ad dīn offered to make him Sulṭān, in opposition to Baibars, but Manṣūr refused the offer, and maintained the loyalty to Egypt which marks Ḥamāh policy throughout our period.

Manṣūr continued to rule Ḥamāh until 683, when he died.

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1. While there, he sent a cousin, the Amīr Nāṣir ad dīn Muḥammad b. al Malik Mas'ūd 'Uthman b. Manṣūr, on an embassy to Baibars. 1703.f.168b.
 2. His name was Nāṣir ad dīn Nāṣir al Badawī, and he gave Ibn Wāṣil an account of Manṣūr's dealing with the conspirators. Manṣūr used him to reply to Shams ad dīn's offer. (1703. f.169a-b.)

and was buried in a tomb by the Jāmi' al A'lā.¹ He helped Baibars and Qalāwūn in their campaigns, continued to enjoy the favour of the Egyptian Sultāns, and visited Egypt twice, in 665 and 682.² He does not appear to have been popular in Hamāh,³ and the accounts of him are colourless compared with those of his father and grandfather. The most prominent man at his court was his brother Afdal, who helped him and his son Muẓaffar up till his death in 692.⁴ He had nearly left Hamāh in 655, when Ahāzīyya Khātūn died, because he was afraid of his brother, but Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī managed to reconcile them.⁵ Afdal had three sons,⁶ who served Muẓaffar

1. Abulf.v.70-76. Suppl.1703.ff.191a-192a. 1703.f.126a.

2. Abulf.v.20.64-66.

3. Baibars visited him there in 671, and received complaints against him which he refused to read. Abulf.v.76. Suppl. 1702.f.437b.

4. Abulf.v.110.

5. Abulf.v.12.

6. Badr ad dīn Ḥasan was the eldest, d.726, aged 57, leaving two small sons and two daughters, whom Abulfidā looked after. Abulfidā was the second, three years younger. The third was Asad ad dīn 'Umar. A son of his called Mahmūd d.726, aged 36. Abulf.v.366.

and the second of them, Abulfidā Ismā'īl, was born in 672 in Damascus where his family had gone owing to the rumours of an approaching Tartar invasion. They were staying in a house there belonging to Manṣūr, called Dār Ibn az Zanjīlī,¹ where Manṣūr himself had stayed in 658.²

One prominent servant of Manṣūr's was his Ustādh Dār, Mubārīz ad dīn Aqūsh, who was with him at 'Ain Jālūt, preceded him back to Ḥamāh in 658, was with him in the battle against the Tartars at Ḥoms, 659, and continued to serve him until his death in 672.³ Probably the Mufarrij is dedicated to him. (See below.) Another was Shujā' ad dīn Murshīd, who was one of those who helped Ghāziyya Khātūn during Manṣūr's minority, and whom Manṣūr left in charge during his absences from Ḥamāh in 657-659. He was responsible for handing Ḥamāh over to Hūlāgū, and thus saving it from the destruction which overtook Aleppo. Baibars is said to have respected him and relied on his advice, and he endowed a Ḥanafī School in Ḥamāh, outside

1. Abulf.v.34.

2. 1703.f.167b. See note on Chapter II.

3. Abulf.v.34. Suppl.1702.f.438a. He had a house in Ḥamāh, on the bank of the Orontes, where Ashraf Mūsā stayed, 658, and Baibars, 671. 1703.f.152a.162a. Abulf.v.76. Suppl.1702.f.437b. It used to be called after Zain ad dīn b. Qarnās, and Ibn Matrūh stayed there in 637. 1703.f.73a.

which he built himself a tomb. He died in 669.¹

Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn Maḥmūd was confirmed by Qalāwūn as his father's successor, and ruled for fifteen years, 683-698. Details of his campaigns and travels are given by both Abulfidā and the author of the Supplement, both of whom accompanied him on various occasions. Ibn Wāṣil went with him on one of his journeys to Egypt.² He, together with his uncle Afdal and his cousin, Abulfidā, were at the taking of Tripoli, 688, and of Acca, 690. They entertained the Sultān Ashraf b. Qalāwūn at Ḥamāh in 691. Muẓaffar was a great hunter, and finally died of a fever contracted after a day's hunting with his cousin Abulfidā.³ He was only forty-one. There was a palace called after him, and probably built by him, in which Ashraf b. Qalāwūn stayed in 691, and the Mamlūk deputies who ruled Ḥamāh, 698-710, lived there.⁴

1. See note on Chapter II.

2. Manḥal Ṣafī, Paris 2072.f.128a-b.

3. Abulf.v.90.94.102-4. 156-158.

4. Abulf.v.102.168. There is a tomb built by him in 683, in the Jāmi' al Kabīr for "Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn Maḥmūd may God Almighty make the shortness of his stay in this world a reason for his remaining for ever in paradise. He died 12 Dhil Qa'da, 678." Possibly this was an infant son of Muẓaffar (Bulletin d'Études Orientales, Institut Français de Damas, Vol.I.1931, article by Gaulmier, pèlerinages populaires à Ḥamāh, p.146.)

Muzaffar had no sons, and there was a dispute after his death as to which of his nephews should succeed. A mamlūk deputy was then appointed by the Sultān, and much of the property of the family was confiscated.¹ Abulfidā was given back Ḥamāh, Bārīn and Ma'arra in 710², and ruled there until 733, and his son Afdal Muḥammad the last of the Ayyūbids, was his successor up till 742.³

It is uncertain when Ibn Wāṣil was appointed Qādī of Ḥamāh, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was in 669, when the Qādī Shams ad dīn al Bārizī, who had held the post since 652, died.⁴ At any rate, he was Qādī for a long time.⁵

1. Abulf.v.160.

2. Abulf.v.230-240.

3. He was born in 712, and his son 'Umar in 729. Abulf.v.256, 382. For Abulfidā's tomb, see ZDMG.1908.p.657-660. His mother d.728. Abulf.v.376.

4. Abulf.v.28. Suppl.1702.f.437b.Maḡ.i.2.p.92. He was appointed in 652, after Muḥyī ad dīn b.Ḥamza b.Muḥammad b.al Qādī Amīn ad dīn b.al Qasim had been dismissed, 'Inād ad dīn b. al Qutb was appointed while in Damascus on his way from Egypt, but he died a few days later. Muḥyī ad dīn had succeeded Shihāb ad dīn b.abī-d-Damm in 643. 1703.f.111b.Maḡ.i.I.56. Abulf.iv.538. For the Bārizī family see Wiet.Manhal Ṣāfi, no. 82, Shams ad dīn Ibrahīm b.al Musallim al Bārizī, b.580, d.669, with a genealogical table of his descendants, (Nos.1400, 2603, 189, 102, 1401, 1518, 2319, 2320.) His son, 'Abdarrahīm, (no.1400. 608-683 A.H.) wrote a history in Rajaz metre. Brock i.349. His grandson, Sharaf ad dīn Hibatallah b.'Abdarrahīm, (No.2603. 645-738 A.H. See also Ṣafadī, Brit.Mus.MS.Or.6645, F.39a.) was
(continued on following page.)

We must not picture him in retirement in Ḥamāh. Not only was he chief Qāḍī, but he also taught, and wrote. He probably travelled sometimes with Maṣṣūr, and we know that he went to Egypt with Muẓaffar as late as 690.¹ Probably the first piece of work he did for Maṣṣūr was the Kitāb Mukhtaṣar al Aghānī, which is dedicated to him. The Mufarrij was written over a period extending at any rate from 671 to 684. One notice states that he had 30 learned men in his circle.² He taught

(Note continued from previous page.)

a scholar and writer, (Brock II.86.116.HKh.Index.1222.) and was Ḥanafī Qāḍī in Ḥamāh. For a tomb of one of this family, see Bulletin d'Études Orientales, Institut Français de Damas, Vol.I.1931. Article by Gaulmier, Pélerinages Populaires à Ḥamāh. Others of the family were officials in Ḥamāh, Damascus and Aleppo.

5. Dhahabī. Bodley, MS. Laud. Or. 279. f. 234b. (Uri. 146.)

1. Manḥal Ṣāfī. Paris 2072, f. 128a-b. For the date see the end of the Chapter.

2. Dhahabī. loc. cit.

Abulfidā and probably his brothers. Abulfidā¹ tells us that he used very often to visit him, and read with him Euclid, his commentary on Ibn al Ḥāḥib's work on Metre, and his abridgement of the Aghānī. This must have been near the end of his life as Abulfidā was not born until 672. He became more and more absorbed in his work. "He did not cease his zealous pursuit (of knowledge)," says Dhahabī, "and reflection overcame him to such an extent that he became forgetful of his own affairs and of those about him."²

One trace that we have of him is a note in his handwriting in the autograph MS. of the Wafayāt al A'yān. of Ibn Khallikān, whom Ibn Wāṣil must have known both as a student in Aleppo and later when Ibn Khallikān was Qāḍī in Cairo. It must have been written after 672, when the Wafayāt was finished, and the autograph MS. is unlikely to have come into his hands until after Ibn Khallikān's death in 682. The writing is partly illegible, but the first part can be read, Ibn Wāṣil says that he is now over seventy, and has never, among the innumerable books on History that

1. Abulf.v.144.

2. Dhahabī.loc.cit.

he has read, found one better than Ibn Khallikān's.¹

The last glimpse we have of Ibn Wāṣil is in Egypt, where he went with Muẓaffar, and lectured in Cairo. Abul Maḥāṣin quotes this from a man who received from him a diploma(Ijāza), for all his works. He recited to his hearers some verses he had written to Maṣṣūr. This was in Al Kabash,² in Cairo. The date given for the Ijāza is

1. Brit. Mus.Cat.MSS.Ar.p.586aAdd.25735. Note on the title

page. "Muḥammad b.Sālim b. Naṣr allāh b.Sālim b. Wāṣil, needy for the forgiveness and mercy of God, says: From the time when I reached discretion, until now, when I am over seventy, I have not ceased to be engrossed in the art of history, and the books written about it. I have come across innumerable of these, because of the which this art gives, from which there is a warning... It also helps the science of Prophetic tradition... and other excellent matters... I have not found a work which includes more good things than this one... etc."

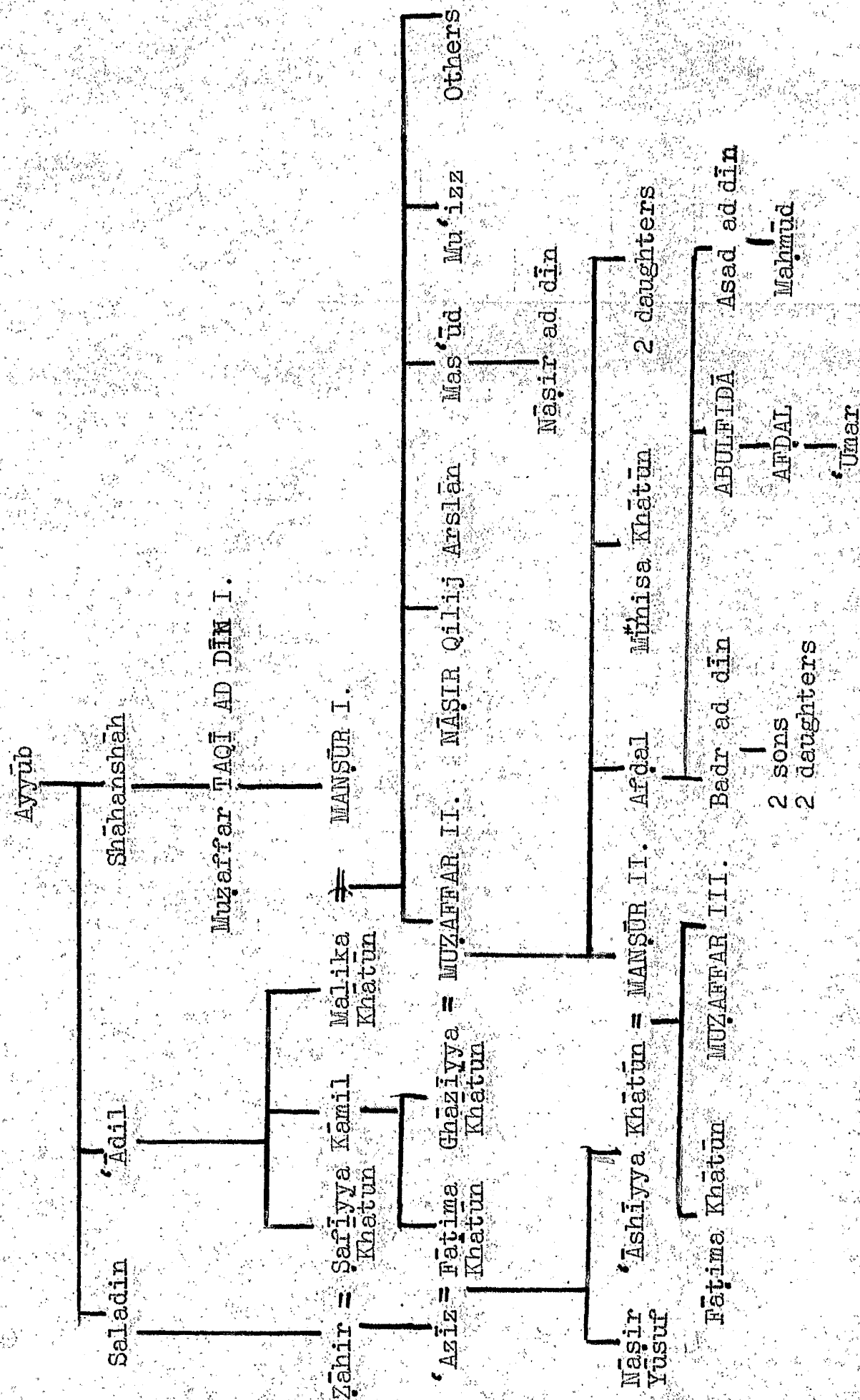
For Ibn Khallikān, see Wuestenfeld, Geschichtschreiber, 358. Brockelmann.i.326.

2. 1702.f.360b. Ayyūb "built a large castle, between Miṣr and Cairo, on a high hill. It was very fine, and he called it Al Kab^ash."

Thursday 29 Muharram, 690, but this cannot be correct, as Muzaffar was not then in Egypt. He visited Egypt in 692, and it must have been then that Ibn Wāṣil came with him, though he was then nearly ninety. He died in Shawwāl 697.¹

1. Manḥal Sāfī. Paris 2072.f.128a-b. Abulf.v.108.

The Ḥamāh Branch of the Ayyūbids.



CHAPTER X.

The Works of Ibn Wāṣil.

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The Works of Ibn Wāṣil.

"He wrote many books," says Al Isnawī,¹ "on theology, law, logic, metre, medicine, history and literary matters." Not all of these, nor even their titles, have survived, but we know something about thirteen books written by him, and the following list is compiled from lists given by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (from Al Aḍfuwī),² Abul Mahāṣin,³ and Abulfidā,⁴ together with references in the Mufarrrij, and such Manuscripts as have survived. It is to be noticed that almost all of these Manuscripts are not much later than Ibn Wāṣil's own lifetime. His work did not gain any lasting popularity.

1. Quoted by Shuhba. Brit.Mus.Add23362.f.119a.

2. Add.23362.f.119a-b. Al Aḍfuwī, d.748. wrote two biographical Dictionaries, one of men of Upper Egypt, and the other of men of the Seventh Century. (MS.Wien.1169.) The quotation on Ibn Wāṣil must come from the latter. Wuestenfeld. Geschichtschreiber, 413. Brock. ii. 31.

3. Manhal Ṣafī. Paris 2072.f.128a-b.

4. Abulf.v.144.

What is known about it is gathered together here, while his last and greatest book, the *Mufarrij*, is reserved for detailed consideration in the next chapters.

The *Tarikh Ṣāliḥī*.

This is the earliest of Ibn Wāṣil's works, and was written in 636. There are three MSS. of it, one at the British Museum,¹ which contains only the first volume (The creation to A.H.41), but includes the long and interesting preface, and the second at Leningrad,² which lacks part at the beginning and the end. There is a third at Gotha.³

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1. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 6657, Handlist since 1894, p. 33. 228 ff.
(Large writing, 11 ^{lines} per page.)
 2. Rosen, Notice Sommaires des MSS. Arabes du Musée Asiatique, Liv. i. St. Petersburg 1881, No. 163. 125 ff. 26 lines per page.
Some folios missing at the beginning and the end. f. 1b = Or. 6657, f. 108a-b. The MS. ends with the death of Mustadī, 575 A.H. Date uncertain, Ninth Century A.H.?
 3. Gotha 1558, 102 ff. Beginning lost, f. 1 = 198 A.H. Probably part of a MS. of the *Tarikh Ṣāliḥī*, (see Rosen, loc. cit. note, with a continuation to 671.

The preface¹ contains a eulogy of Ayyūb, a full account of the contents of the history, and an explanation of its previous failure to reach the Royal Library, to which Ibn Wāṣil was now, (after his arrival in Egypt), presenting it. He wrote it in 636, when Ayyūb came to Damascus from the Eastern Provinces to take control of his father's kingdom. It was to be a concise work, and to be followed by a larger, detailed History.² The book ended with Ayyūb's arrival at Damascus in 636, but it did not reach him until at the earliest 642, owing to the vicissitudes he underwent. It was circulated in both Syria and Egypt,³ and a reference in the Mufarrij

1. Or.6657, ff.2a-9a. See note 3.

2. For the Tarīkh Kabīr, see the end of the chapter.

3. "Then it happened that the events of the time prevented this history...from reaching the Illustrious Library.

Many copies were made in Syria and Egypt, and it was much in demand because it alone among the books written on this subject combines language that is concise and eloquent with the inclusion of the majority of events, such as are not found otherwise save in lengthy and extensive works. Then when the slave, (i.e. Ibn Wāṣil) migrated to the seat of the mighty Kingdom and honoured Sultānate, and was overwhelmed with favours ... he presented to the Illustrious Library the work he had previously written for it." For Ayyūb's vicissitudes, after 636, see above, Chapter V.

confirms this, for when Ibn Wāṣil met the Fātimids imprisoned in Cairo, he was recognised by one of them as its author.¹ He mentions it again in 648, and says that he took a copy as a present for Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb, along with the book on Astronomy he had just written.² It is possible to suspect from this that Ayyūb never took any notice of the work, which, with its dedicatory preface, had been awaiting a suitable moment for its presentation ever since Ibn Wāṣil's arrival in Egypt in 642 (Ayyūb, though he treated scholars generously enough, had no

1. 1702.f.34b.

2. 1703.f.90a-b. As it stands in 1703, the passage is quite clear. He took with him the book on astronomy, and "I added to it a history which I had composed and dedicated to Ayyūb, and in which I followed the affairs of the Prophets, Caliphs and kings, ending with the entry of Ayyūb into Damascus, when he came there from the Eastern Provinces in 636." 1702.f.372a. has a confused form of a different text. "I took with me for Mu'azzam a present and three books, 2 of them being on History, and a book which I had compiled for his father Ayyūb and which had never reached him." The author says:- "and a book I had composed ... on astronomy."

interest in learning himself and did not mix with his court.) The text of 1702 confirms this supposition, as it says that Ibn Wāṣil took with him a book written for Ayyūb which had never reached him.¹

The Tarīkh Ṣālihi is apparently one of the main sources for Abulfidā's history up to 125 A.H.²

2. Al Anbarūriyya. A treatise on logic, written in 659 for Manfred, in Italy.³

3. Nukhbat al Fikr. Another work on logic.⁴ There is a

1. See the previous note.

2. Abulf.i.440, on the death of 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz.101 A.H.

"The Qāḍī Jamāl ad dīn b. Wāṣil, author of the history from which this is taken, says". .(followed by a note on the tomb of 'Umar near Ma'arra, the original of which is in Rosen 163, f.36a.) Abulf.i.458.125 A.H. Accession of Walīd II. "The portion taken from the history of Jamāl ad dīn b. Wāṣil ends here, and that taken from Ibn al Athīr's history, The Kāmil, begins."

3. Abulf.v.144.

4. HKh.vi.317. This or no.4 may possibly be the same as no.2.

MS. at Yale, in the University Library.¹

4. *Hidāyat al Albāb*. Another work on logic, mentioned by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and Abul Maḥāṣin, (loc.cit.).

5 and 6. *The Sharḥ al Jumal* and the *Sharḥ al Mūjiz*.

Commentaries on two works on Logic by Afdal ad dīn al Khawanjī, who died in 646. Four MSS. of the first have survived.² The second we know only from Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and Abul Maḥāṣin (loc.cit.):

1. Yale, Landberg Collection, no.103. It is complete, 134 ff.

The colophon states that the MS. was copied from the original in 680 A.H. It is written by the same scribe as no.104 (a MS. of Ibn Wāṣil's *Sharḥ al Jumal*, see no.5.) and evidently at the same time and place. I am indebted for this information to Professor C. C. Torrey.

2. Yale, Landberg Collection, no.104. Cf. the preceding note, on no.103 of the same collection. 75. ff. One or more missing at the end. It is in the original binding. The full title is, "Commentary on the difficult expressions contained in the *Kitāb al Jumal*, by the Imām Afdal ad dīn al Khawanjī, and solution of its difficulties, by our master and shaikh, the Imām, pillar of Islām, model of scholars and judges, Jamāl ad dīn... b. Wāṣil may God preserve his life and give him double blessings, Its title is *Kitāb tafsīl al Jumal*." Alger. 1387. 89 ff. Spanish writing, 738 A.H. An appendix, the work of the author himself, begins on f. 84.

Derenbourg, *Les MSS Arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris 1884, nos. 615 and 647. Maghribī writing, undated, 203 ff. and 93 ff.

The author was at Kāmil's court, and was sent by him to the Bilād ar Rūm as an envoy. Kāmil had died when he returned, and he went back there, and became Qāḍī. He returned to Egypt again after the Tartars had defeated Kaikhusrū there in 641, and Ibn Wāṣil met him in Aleppo while he was on the way. Ayyūb made him Qāḍī of Miṣr, and teacher in the school he had founded, (the Ṣālihiyya), and he made a great reputation as a scholar, in particular in Logic. He died in 646.¹ He wrote the Jumal in Mecca in 624.² Several other commentaries were made upon it later.³

1. 1702.f.312 a-b.1703.f.62a.(Ibn Wāṣil mentions another work of his on logic, Kashf al asrār). 1703.ff.43a.46a. See also Uṣ.ii.120. Brock.i.463.

2. In the preface to the Sharḥ al Jumal, Ibn Wāṣil gives the following account of its composition. "The Imām Afdal ad dīn produced this book in Mecca, when he was staying there for religious exercises in 624. The person who made him do so was the Shaikh Sharaf ad dīn al Mursī, a man, unique in his time for knowledge of the Arabic language and the exposition of the Qoran. He asked him for an abridged work on the science of logic, which should be as clear and as exhaustive as possible. Afdal ad dīn then produced this book. It did not become as popular as the Mūjiz, because it was difficult to understand, and most intellects were unable to grasp its meaning. It includes what is in the Mūjiz, and gives more than double as much, though it is less than half its size." Yale 104,f.2a. Sharaf ad dīn al Mursī d. 655, Brock. i.312.

3. Brock.loc.cit.mentions five.

7. Kitāb Mukhtaṣar al Aghānī.

There is a MS. of this in the British Museum,¹ and it is mentioned by Hājjī Khalīfa and Ṣafadī.² It contains the accounts of 62 poets from the Aghānī, preceded by a life of Abulfaraj and a history of his work.³ In the preface, Ibn Wāṣil tells us how he came to write the book. It was written

1. Brit.Mus.Cat.Ar.p.264a.Add.7339. The first half contains Ibn Wāṣil's Mukhtaṣar (pp.1-445), and was written by the Khaṭīb of the Jāmi' ash Shaikh 'Alwān, Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh, in Ramaḍān, 1110 A.H. Bound with it is the seventh volume of the Aghānī, written by the same scribe, in Rabī' I.1110 A.H. On the reverse of the title page is a list of the 62 poets of whom accounts are given. The Jāmi' ash Shaikh 'Alwān (philosopher and savant, 877-936 A.H.) is still in Ḥamāh, and the family still lives there. See Bulletin d'Études Orientales, Institut Français de Damas, vol. I.1931, p.18, Article by Gaulmier Pélerinages populaires à Ḥamāh.

2. HKh.i.367.Ṣafadī Introd.p.263.

3. Brock.i.146.

for Maṣṣūr of Ḥamāh, probably soon after Ibn Wāṣil's return there (c.660).¹

1. "When by the royal favour of Maṣṣūr, (may God make his réign eternal,) I sought the hospitality of his shadow... it happened that in his noble abode, (which is the place where merit and reward meet, and to which the expectant journey), he mentioned the book by Abul Faraj al Isfahānī, called Al Aghānī al Kathīr, commenting on the great merit and knowledge it contains in its description of the scales, while it also includes an unprofitable description of the different kind of melodies and cadences, an art little studied in our time, when it is known in practice, not in theory, and people take no advantage of what is said about it, being unable to understand it. His order, which demanded obedience, (may God exalt him,) went forth that this should be removed, as well as the literary pedigrees and repetitions, and such information and poems of doubtful meaning as are not worth mentioning, while its choicest portions and richest pearls were to be given in brief. The slave, (i.e. Ibn Wāṣil), hastened to obey ~~his~~ noble command, and added to it other matters of profit connected with it, and elucidated those of its expressions which are difficult. In God is our refuge. We preface this by some of what has been said about the merit of the book and its author." Add.7339.p.1.

8. Ad Durr an Naḍīd fī Sharḥ al Qaṣīd.

(Heaped pearls, concerning the elucidation of the Ode.)

A commentary on the work on Metre of Ibn al Ḥāḡib, (d.646).¹ whom Ibn Wāṣil must have known personally in Cairo.

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1. Jamāl ad dīn Abu 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Umar b. abī Bakr, called Ibn al Ḥāḡib, born in Upper Egypt, 570. His father was a Kurd, and was Ḥāḡib of 'Izz ad dīn Mūsak aṣ Ṣalāḡī. He studied in Cairo, then went to Damascus, His lectures on Grammar were popular there as they were later in Cairo, where Ibn Khallikān knew him. He was a Mālikī. He died in Alexandria in 646. (IKh ii.193). He was dismissed from his post in Damascus in 639, in company with 'Izz ad dīn b. 'Abd as Salām for voicing his disapproval of Sāliḡ Isma'īl's alliance with the Franks, and he then went to Kerak where he was received by Nāṣir Dā'ūd, and on to Egypt. (1703. ff. 35b-36a). Ibn Wāṣil in the present preface gives the following account of his works. "He was (may God have mercy on him), successful in everything that he undertook, whether abridgment or commentary. He made two small prefacēs on Grammar and Conjugation, which attain as much as is attained by Abul Qasim az Zamakhsharī in his Mufaṣṣal, and have many additions to it. He made an original commentary on the Mufaṣṣal, and composed two abridgments of great value on the Principles of Law, containing the greater part of this science. He had studied the Seven Readings (of the Qorān) thoroughly." The two works
(continued on following page.)

There is a MS. in Paris,¹ and it is mentioned by Abulfidā,² who says that he read it with Ibn Wāṣil.

The preface⁴ contains quotations in praise of poetry, followed by a discussion of the science of Metre, ('Ilm al 'Urūd), and its relation to Music, with quotations from Al Fārābī⁵ and Thābit b. Qurra.⁶ Ibn Wāṣil then refers to the unsatisfactory books already written on the subject of Metre, and hopes that his will prove to be complete. He has written it in the form of a commentary on the "Qaṣīd" of "our Shaikh" Ibn al Ḥāḥib, of whom he gives an account, followed by some

(Note continued from previous page.)

on Grammar were called Al Kāfiyya, and Ash Shāfiyya. The title of his work on Metre is "Kitāb al Maqṣad al Jalīl fī 'Ilm al Khalīl." There were several later commentaries on it. (Broekelmann i.303-6.)

1. Paris Cat. Arab. 4451. 86ff. Dated 732 A.H. Preface, ff. 1b-2b.

2. Abulf. v. 144. See also HKh. iv. 199.

Shuhba, Add. 23362. f. 119b. Maḥḥal Ṣafī. Paris. 2072 f. 128b.

4. Paris 4451. f. 1b-2b. The title is given at the end.

5. Legacy of Islam. p. 364-371. Brock I. 210.

6. Ditto. p. 387-8. Brock. i. 217.

verses by Fakhr al Qudāt b. Burāqa,¹ eulogising him after reading the Qaṣīd. He then says, "I have not in this book cut short the explanation of this ode, or the elucidation of the ideas it contains, but I have mentioned everything that has reached me about this branch of learning, and given my own ideas on the subject, after exhaustive thought."

The date of the composition of this book is not known, except that it was after the death of Ibn al Ḥāḡib,² It probably belongs to the Ḥamāh period, before or during the composition of the Mufarrij.

9. An Nukhbat al Makiyya fil Hai'at al Falakiyya.

A work on astronomy written in Cairo at the beginning of 648, and completed just before the death of Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb to whom it was dedicated.³

1. See above, C.IV.10.

2. See the translation in note on p.113. *above*.

3. 1703.f.90a^b.cf.1702.f.372a. For Ibn Wāṣil's interest in Mathematics and astronomy, see above, Chapter III. VI.

10. Mukhtaṣar al Arbaʿīn. A summary of Fakhr ad dīn ar Rāzī's Al Arbaʿīn fī usūl ad dīn. Mentioned by Hājjī Khalīfa.¹

11. Mukhtaṣar kitāb Ibn al Baiṭār fil Adwiya al Mufrada.
Summary of Ibn al Baiṭār's book on Medicinal Simples.²

1. Shuhba and Manhal Ṣāfī.loc.cit. "Written for his son Muḥammad containing 40 of the questions of Theology. The Qādī Sirāj ad dīn . . . al Urmawī summarised it . . . and so did Jamāl ad dīn b. Wāṣil." HKh.i.243. For Ar Rāzī, see above, Chap. III. Wuestenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 294. IKh.ii.652.
2. Shuhba and Manhal Ṣāfī.loc.cit. Diyā ad dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al Māliqī, called Ibn al Baiṭār, wrote the "Kitāb al Jāmi", on Medicinal Simples. He has dealt fully in it with the medicinal simples, their names, their purification, their strength and their uses. He explains what is certain about them and what is doubtful. There is no better book on the Medicinal Simples than this. He wrote it for Ayyūb. Uṣaibī'a.II.p.133. Text, Būlāq 1291. Grosse Zusammenstellung über die Kräfte der bekannten einfachen Heilund Nahrungsmittel von . . . Ebn Baithār, übers. von J. von Sontheimer. 2 Bde. Stuttgart 1870-2. See Brockelmann I.492. Ibn al Baiṭār wrote another book on the subject, (Al Mughnī fil Adwiya al Mufrada) but the first is probably that abridged by Ibn Wāṣil. Brockelmann gives later abridgments. For Ibn al Baiṭār's biography, see Chap.III. He may have taught Ibn Wāṣil in Damascus.

12. The Tarīkh Kabīr.

In the Mufarrij, Ibn Wāṣil twice refers to a work with this title, saying that he has given detailed accounts in the Tarīkh Kabīr of the genealogy of the Fāṭimids and the Conquest of the Maghrib, 568, by Qarāqūsh, (a retainer of Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn b. Shāhanshāh).¹ Ibn Wāṣil tells us twice in the Tarīkh Ṣāliḥī that he intends to write a larger history. In the preface he says that one reason why he has not added the events of the years following 636 is his intention to write "an extensive history, in which he will speak at such length that there shall be scarcely anything mentioned in wellekknown histories that is not^{to}/be found in it."² In speaking

1. C.1079.p.124. "I have mentioned what is said about this subject, (i.e. the genealogy of the Fāṭimids), in the Tarīkh Kabīr, but what I believe to be true, and have verified from many histories, is that they were impostors." 1702. f.32b. has "from the Tarīkh Kabīr," (min instead of fī,) but the Cambridge MS. is quite clear, and cf. the following passage. 1702.f.42a.= C. 1079.p.141. Conquest of the Maghrib, 568.

"I have mentioned it in detail in the Tarīkh Kabīr."

2. Brit.Mus.Or.6657 (Handlist since 1894,p.33), f.8b.

In speaking of the ancient kings of the Arabs, he says, "We have cut short our account of them in this abridgment (mukhtaṣar), but if God permits, and gives the strength, we will come to mention their affairs in detail in a history which shall be more complete and longer than this one, if God will."¹

It is curious that all trace of this work has disappeared from the lists given, but the two passages in the Mufarrij appear to be conclusive. Ibn Wāṣil must have written it while he was in Egypt, and probably brought it up to the beginning of the Ayyūbid dynasty, where the Mufarrij starts. This would have included an account of the Fāṭimids, and might also easily have included the account of the Conquest of Tripoli in 568, as Ibn Wāṣil frequently adds notes on events subsequent to those he is actually recording. Judging by the early part of the Mufarrij, which is almost entirely quoted from earlier sources, and by what he says about including everything said in other histories, the work must have been an unwieldy composition, adding nothing to previous knowledge. He probably ceased to lecture on it in the later period of his life when he had become famous, and for this reason it remained unknown.

It was not uncommon for historians to write a Mukhtaṣar and a Tarīkh Kabīr at this period, and we may compare Shihāb

1. Rosen. Notices . . . St. Petersburg, 1881, no. 163.f.6b.

ad dīn b.abi-d-Damm¹ and Muhammad b. Barakāt.²

1. See above, Chapter II.

2. See above, Chapter VI.

A note on the MS. Gotha 1655, which has been supposed to be the work of Ibn Wāṣil.

Gotha 1655, 139ff. Its date is uncertain, but it is old. The title page contains the words, "This is the part of the history written by the excellent and perfect Qirtā'ī al 'Izzī al Khazindārī, on whom be peace and mercy." Folio 1b apparently contains a summary of the third part of the work, which has been completed, and which dealt with Kāmil. The last line is partly illegible, and it is difficult to tell whether it connects with Folio 2a, which contains the chronicle of the year 626. The chronicle then continues until 689.

The composer, (Mu'allif), named on the title page, is mentioned once in the text, on f.127b. He there quotes a poem by a certain Tāj ad dīn as Sarkhadī about Syria, and says, "The poor slave of God Almighty, Qirtā'ī al 'Izzī al Khazindārī, Mu'allif of this history, wished to avoid this poem... because it exalts the city of Damascus over Cairo." In the course of the book, the words "Qāla Sāhib at Tarīkh" frequently occur, and the theory is put forward that Qirtā'ī al 'Izzī was only the editor and abbreviator of an earlier work, the real author being referred to as Sāhib at Tarīkh. As Ibn Wāṣil is twice quoted by name (f.13b, qāla Ibn Wāṣil; f.30a,

qāla Ibn Wāṣil sāhib at Tarīkh), it has been assumed that he was the author.¹

Neither of these quotations comes from the Mufarrij, and the second occurs in a very inaccurate description of the movements of Nāṣir Dā'ūd, the whole of which can certainly not come from Ibn Wāṣil. It is said that in 642 A.H. Nāṣir Dā'ūd, afraid of the other Ayyūbids, left his son Shādhī in charge of Kerak, and set out for Bagdād. At Anbār, he waited for permission to go to Bagdād. Ibn Wāṣil is then quoted as saying that the reason for this delay was the Caliph's unwillingness to pay him back his deposit, that this was shameful behaviour, and that Nāṣir Dā'ūd stayed there eight months. The account then goes on to say that Ayyūb persuaded Shādhī to give up Kerak.

The correct version of these events is found in the Mufarrij (see chapter 4). Nāṣir Dā'ūd left Kerak in 647, and only then sent his jewels, etc., to the Caliph. When he visited Bagdād in 653, Ibn Wāṣil does not mention Anbār (1703 f.114a). It is possible that Nāṣir Dā'ūd stayed at Anbār at some time, but if so it is difficult to explain why Ibn Wāṣil should describe it elsewhere, and not in the Mufarrij, where he gives such a full account of Nāṣir's movements.

The whole chronicle is very inaccurate, and often mixes

1. Gotha Catalogue, 1655, Brock.i.322.Wuest.Gesch.371.

together under one year events which occurred over a period of several years. An example of this is the chronicle of the events of 626, (ff. 2a-5a), of which the following is a summary.

626. Kāmil prepares to attack the Bilād ar Rūm, tells Ayyūb to look after 'Ādil and his mother, goes to Damascus. The other Ayyūbids half-heartedly support him. He returns to Egypt, threatens to kill Ayyūb for illtreating 'Ādil, and sends him to Hiṣn Kaifā.

The expedition to the Bilād ar Rūm took place in 631, and Ayyūb was sent to Hiṣn Kaifā in 629. (See the Summary.) We may also note the imaginary conversations between Kāmil and Ayyūb, which are without parallel in Ibn Wāṣil's work. Others occur in this chronicle. The death of Mu'azzam b. 'Ādil of Damascus is given in 631, and his expedition to Ḥamāh is mentioned in 627, (see the summary, 624 and 620). Many other examples might be given, but enough has been said to show the contrast with the work of Ibn Wāṣil, who is throughout accurate and thorough, and who cannot be supposed to have composed this very inferior history.

CHAPTER XI

The Text of the Mufarrij

Manuscripts and Additions

CHAPTER XI

The Text of the Mufarrij al Kurūb Manuscripts and Additions

There is no complete MS. of the Mufarrij known, but there are three which contain part of it, all of the Fourteenth Century. Hājjī Khalīfa tells us that it was in "about three volumes".¹ There is a complete MS. of the first volume, (Cambridge 1079), which continues until 617 A.H., and there is an almost complete MS. of what must be the third volume, 635-659, (Paris 1703). The third MS. originally contained the whole work, but now has nearly half missing. (Paris 1702). Fortunately the second volume, 617-635, is almost complete, and the only part of the text which is lost is part of 617 A.H. and part of 618-619 A.H. 1703 also contains the Supplement to the Mufarrij, and 1702 contains the Supplement and another addition. The relationship between these MSS. is difficult to determine.

I. Browne, Handlist of Muḥammadan MSS. in the University Library of Cambridge, No. 1079.301 ff. Fourteenth Century. (Numbered by pages.)

1. HKh.vi.33. See also Ṣafadī Introd. No. 173.

The title page has "The first part of the Mufarrij al Kurūb fī Akhbār Bani Ayyūb," followed by the name of the author, (over which a piece of paper has been stuck), and the words, "rahimahu Allāh."

The Preface,¹ (p. I.) states that the book contains an account of the Ayyūbids, and was presented to the library of the Isfahsallār Mubārīz ad dīn al Mansūrī. This must be Mubārīz ad dīn Aqūsh, Mansūr's leading soldier, though he died in 672, certainly before the Mufarrij was finished.

The text begins, (p.2.) with a discussion of the origin of the Ayyūbids, and continues without a break to the year 617, when it breaks off with the arrival of Ashraf b. 'Adil at Mōṣil, (p. 600). On the reverse of this, (p. 601, i.e. f. 300¹ b.) are the words, "With that ends the first part of the Mufarrij al Kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyūb."

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1. It starts with the usual "Praise to God, etc." and continues "To proceed. In this book I have put down the affairs of the Banī Ayyūb, and a summary of their excellent acts and qualities, since they were greater in glory than the kings who preceded them, and their rule was more powerful. Through them God Almighty conquered Jerusalem" (There follows a summary of the achievements of the dynasty. "I offered it in homage to the library of the generous excellency, the Maulā, the great Emīr, the splendid, victorious Isfahsallār, the noble, just, powerful, and successful, king of emirs, leader of armies, Mubārīz ad dīn, leader of raids and of those who fight in the Jihād, (servant of) Malik Mansūr, may God make his assistance mighty and double his power, since God has selected him from among the emirs of his time, by giving him right judgment, etc. And I called it The Dispenser of anxieties about the affairs of the Banī Ayyūb."

About 200 ff. of MS. 1702 belong to this first volume. A comparison of the two MSS. shows that they contain a very similar text. Words or phrases are occasionally omitted in one or the other, and where the text differs, 1079 is usually the better. In one case, a paragraph is omitted by 1079, and in another case, some passages are much shortened and 1079 on the other hand has sentences omitted by 1702. Other points to be noted are that 1079 gives many headings which 1702 omits, and 1079 is more fully pointed than 1702, especially as regards proper names and place names. Neither MS. appears to be derived from the other.¹

2. De Slane, Catalogue des MSS. Arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 1703. 216 ff. End of the Fourteenth Century, A.D.

The text starts with the death of Kāmil in 635, and continues until Ramaḍān, 659, (Baibars prepares to set out for Syria.) This part is contained in ff. 1-172a of the MS. Folios 172a-216 contain the Supplement, covering the years

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1. Examples of a better text in 1079 are: p. 120=1702 f. 30b, line 5. (about three lines added.) pp.595-600=1702 ff. 199a-202b have numerous small differences, with sentences omitted by 1702. p.297=1702 f. 24a. (See Chap. 3, note on St. Anne.) p.540=1702 f. 174a. Shaizar for Shīrāz, (See Chap. 3) p.124 = 1702 f. 32b. (See Chap. X, note on Tarīkh Kabīr.) The paragraph omitted is that from Shihāb ad dīn's history on Ibn Hubaira, (See Chap. XIII, sources) p.90 = f. 28b. The passages abbreviated are in the account of 595 A.H. pp.480-481 = 1702 ff.139a-141b. (See Summary.)

660-695 A.H. There is one folio missing between ff.8 and 9 :
1702 f.317.

Apart from the fact that there are about forty folios missing from the corresponding portion of 1702, which are supplied by 1703, the text which it contains is much fuller in some places than that of 1702. Sentences are sometimes found in 1702 which are missing from 1703, but we find long portions in 1703 which 1702 omits, and these are mostly of great interest. Certain details about Ibn Wāṣil are thus preserved, (ff. 10b, 21b, 52a, 59b, 77a, 77b, 78b, 84b, 85b.) A number of biographical accounts are found in 1703, (e.g. Ṣalāh ad dīn al Irbilī,¹ ff. 3b-4b. Majd ad dīn Abul Khaṭṭāb 'Umar b. Dihya,² f. 4b-5a. Badr ad dīn, Qādi of

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1. Ahmad b. as Sayyid b. Sha'bān. He was one of Kūkbūrī's Hājibs, and then entered the service of Mughīth b. 'Adil, who had known him in Irbil when he went to visit his aunt Rabi'a Khātūn bint Ayyūb there. When Mughīth died, (i.e. sometime before the death of 'Adil, 615, see 1079 f.p. 564.) Ṣalāh ad dīn went to Egypt, and became Kāmil's protégé. He was a poet, and is said to have known Ghazālī's Al Khulāṣa by heart. Kāmil imprisoned him in 618 and two verses won him his freedom in 623. Kāmil sent him as an envoy to the Emperor, (Frederick II), when he was in Acca, in 626, to confirm the conditions of peace, and take Frederick's oath to them. He died in 631, while with Kāmil on his expedition against Khartabart, was buried at Edessa, and in 637 his son took his body to Egypt. He was born in 572 at Irbil. 1703 f. 3b-4b, with some of his poetry.
 2. The account of Majd ad dīn is in two parts, divided by the account of Ṣalāh ad dīn al Irbilī. The first part

Sinjar,¹ f.9a, the poet Jamāl ad dīn b. 'Abd. (?)² f.10b. Afdal ad dīn al Khawanjī, f. 62a³. Scholars etc. at the court of Ayyūb, including Badr ad dīn Qādī of Sinjar,¹ Afdal ad dīn Al Khawanjī,³ Najm ad dīn b. Shams ad dīn Qādī of Nāblūs⁴, 'Izz ad dīn 'Abd al 'Azīz b. al Qādī Najm ad dīn b. Abī 'Asrūn,⁵ Ibn Wāsil's appointment to the Jāmi' al Aqmar, Bahā ad dīn Zuhair and Jamāl ad dīn b. Matrūh,⁶ ff. 67b-74a.

is in 1702, f.312b-313a. Kāmil built him a Dār al Ḥādīth "between the two castles" in Cairo, and used to go to listen to him often. Later he was suspected of heresy, and dismissed. He died in 633, and his brother, who had been appointed to succeed him in the Dār al Ḥādīth, died a year later. 1703 f. 4b-5a. Wuest. Gesch. 319. Brock i. 310. "Bain al Qasrain" is the name of a street in Cairo.

1. See above, note on Chap. 5.
2. He was one of the companions of Malik Jawād Muẓaffar ad dīn Yūsuf b. Maudūd b. 'Adil, who obtained Damascus in 635. Ibn Wāsil says that he met him several times with Husām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī in Egypt, as he later joined Ayyūb. He gives some verses of his on the victory of Jawād over Nāṣir Dā'ūd at Nablūs, 635. 1703. f. 10b.
3. See Chapter 10, the Sharḥ al Mūjiz.
4. His father had shown Frederick II the Harām ash Sharīf, 1702 f. 120a. He went with Husām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī to Nāblūs in 641, and was sent as envoy to Bagdād in 645. 1703 f. 69b.
5. A poet and man of letters, the most outstanding member of his family at the time. Ayyūb twice sent him to Bagdād as envoy, and he died in Jerusalem on his way back from the second embassy; 1703 f. 69b.
6. See above, notes on Chapter 7.

Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh ash Shuyūkh and his brothers, f. 82a-b.
Baha ad dīn b. al Jumaizi,¹ f. 84b. Amīn ad daula, f.107a²).

Other interesting additions in 1703 are the following:-
a fuller account of the illness and death of Kāmīl, partly
given to ~~the~~ ^{the} Wāsil by the son of one of his doctors, (Raḍī ad
dīn b. al Ḥakīm Muwaffiq ad dīn Ibrahīm³;) f. 1b: the news
of Ayyūb's various movements 636-638 comes to Ḥamāh, f. 27b:
the arrangement of the marriage between Mansūr II of Ḥamāh and
‘Ashīyya Khātūn, f. 53a: details of the illness and death of
Ayyūb, and the events which followed, notably the account of
the arrival of Mu‘azzam in Egypt (f. 83a) ff. 75a-90b: a
reference to the second Crusade of St. Louis, f. 92a: a note
on the history of Yemen, mentioning the ruler at the time of
writing, Muẓaffar the Rasūlid, (d. 694), f. 95a.

1703 evidently represents a form of the text which is
better and nearer to the original than 1702, and it is not

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1. A prominent lawyer under Kāmīl, ‘Adīl, and Ayyūb. He
taught in the Zāwiya School. 1703. f. 84b.
 2. Vizier of Ṣalīḥ Ismā‘īl, imprisoned in Cairo, and
executed in 648. 1703 f. 106b-107a.
 3. Muwaffiq ad dīn Ibrahīm was the doctor of Ashraf Mūsā.
"He was a Samaritan and became a good Moslem. He was
pious and austere and was one of ‘Adīl's doctors. ‘Adīl
told him to stay with his son Muẓaffar Ghāzī, and he
remained with him in Edessa for a time. He then came
to Damascus, and stayed with Ashraf. He was an excellent
doctor." 1702. f. 306a. His son told Ibn Wāsil that
Kāmīl refused to follow his advice, and therefore died.
1703 f.1b.

so like 1702 as 1079 is. As it does not overlap with 1079, there is no evidence to determine their relationship apart from the fact that they are not volumes one and three of the same MS.

3. De Slane, Catalogue des MSS. Arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 1702. 442 folios. Fourteenth Century A.D.

Folios 1 and 442 do not belong to the original MS. but contain a title, preface and conclusion, ascribing the work to a later writer. The title page runs: "Tarīkh al Wāsilīn fi akhbār al khulafā wal mulūk was salātīn, the work of its scribe and author Shams ad dīn, Kātib as sirr." The preface¹ is followed by ten lines on the events of 530, connecting up with the text of the Mufarrij, f. 2a, (account of the taking of the oath of allegiance to Muqtafī, 531). Folio 442 continues the sentence begun at the bottom of f. 441b, and says below that it was finished in 821 by Shams ad dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad az Zainī Kātib as sirr to Barqūq, (784-801 A.H.).

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1. 1702. f. 1b. "I have collected in this book the affairs of kings, etc. including Christians, Jews, Persians and Greeks, explaining them in detail and accurately. I have called it Tarīkh al Wāsilīn etc. ... beginning from the year 530 and continuing to the year 680."

It may be concluded from this that by the year 821 the MS. had already lost the forty folios which are missing from the beginning, and seven folios missing at the end of the Supplement, (680-695). It must have had a curious history. Its scribe had a beautiful hand, but was a careless copyist, and sometimes through mistakes, sometimes, it would seem, deliberately, he took considerable liberties with the text he was transcribing.¹ Either he or the copyist of a previous MS. left out considerable portions of the text, and made a long insertion. (See below). Perhaps when it came into the hands of Shams ad dīn, at the beginning of the Ninth (Fifteenth) century, it was already falling to pieces, though it cannot have been more than about seventy-five years old, and he gathered the leaves together without even taking the trouble to get them into the right order, and had them bound together as a work of his own.²

The original MS. must have contained at least 650 folios. There is no division in 635 A.H., where 1703 begins, and

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1. One important passage, the account of Mu'azzam's arrival at As Sālihiyya, 648, (1703 f. 83A = 1702 f. 367a.) is omitted clearly by haplography. On the other hand it can hardly be by chance that such a number of biographical accounts are omitted.
 2. For the gaps and disarrangement of folios in 1702, see the comparative table of MSS. at the end of the Chapter.

where evidently some MSS. of the Mufarrij began a third volume. There are some folios missing for the year 616-7 (between f. 202 and f. 203~~X~~, following the end of the Cambridge MS. of volume I), and we may suppose that the MS. was originally in two volumes, the beginning of the second being lost.

The one fact clear about the relationship between 1702 and 1703 is that the one is not derived from the other. While 1703 has a better text, and in many cases a fuller text, (see above, on 1703), there are enough places where 1702 has sentences etc. omitted from 1703, or a text independent of it, to make it certain that the scribes were neither of them copying from each other's MS.,¹ and to make it probable that they were not copying the same original.

A further problem is offered by the insertion in 1702 (ff. 395-424) of a full account of the years 659-661 (the beginning of 659 and the end of 661 being missing), followed by the Supplement. A comparison with 1703 shows that this

1. For material omitted by 1702, see the discussion of 1703, above. The cases where 1702 has sentences omitted in 1703 are mostly of little importance. A good example of the relationship between the two MSS. is the account of Ibn Wāsil's journey from Cairo, 648, with books as a present for Mu'azzam. 1702. f. 372a omits a good deal of the account of Ibn Wāsil's hearing the news of Mu'azzam's death, which in 1703 f. 90a-b is very vivid. It also omits the title of ~~Ibn~~ Wāsil's work on Astronomy. But it is not derived from 1703, and represents a slightly confused form of a different text. Cf. the note in Chapter 7.

material is absent from it, the account of 659 in 1703 being different, and connecting directly with the Supplement. The origin of this section (which almost certainly comes from Muḥyī ad dīn b. ʿAbd az Zāhir's life of Baibars) will be discussed later, and we are here merely concerned with showing that it cannot be part of the Mufarrij.

The Supplement

This covers the years 660-695 and was made by a man who was probably a pupil of Ibn Wāṣil, and who during his lifetime continued his history up to the year 695. This was Nūr ad dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd ar Raḥīm b. Aḥmad, the grandson of Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī. He was a secretary of Muẓaffar III of Ḥamāh, held a post under Mansūr II in 682 and accompanied Muẓaffar III to Damascus to meet Qalāwūn in 684.

The beginning of the Supplement in 1703 runs as follows:² "The poor slave of God Almighty ʿAlī² b. ʿAbd ar Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al Kātib al Muẓaffarī says: That which the Qādī and Imām, Jamāl ad dīn Muḥammad b. Sālīm b. Wāṣil (may God Almighty preserve his life), dictated, comes as far as this, and we have not exhausted the events of the year 659. During these

Supplement, 1703. f. 172a, 189b, 194b.

2. 1703 f. 172a.

years much has happened, such as the movements of the Tartars in the lands adjoining Syria, people's disturbance and departure from their homes, the rise in prices ... and the quarrels among the emirs and deputies in Egypt and Syria. To describe these in full would be a lengthy matter, and it is not what we wish to do, our aim being the attainment of profit, and this can come to pass, if God will, by speaking shortly." This follows the account of the appointment of Qādīs in Egypt and Syria, (see Summary) and is followed by the heading "Beginning of the year 660", and an account of the embassy of Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī from Manṣūr of Ḥamāh to Baibars.¹

The beginning of the Supplement in 1702 f. 425a differs from this, and has clearly been altered to suit the fact that material has been included describing the years 659-661, (ff. 395-424). Following four lines of a poem, the beginning of which is lost, there is the sentence, "It is a long poem, and we have given enough of it, being afraid of being long and wearisome." Then comes the beginning of the Supplement, "The poor slave of God Almighty, Nūr ad dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd ar Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al Kātib al Muẓaffarī says: That which the Qādī, Imām, scholar and doctor, Jamāl ad dīn Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Wāṣil,

1. Abulf. iv. 634. 1702. (Add.) f. 411a-b. 404a.

(may God Almighty have mercy on him), dictated, comes as far as this. We have not exhausted the events of the year 661, and many things happened. We will mention by the help of God Almighty a short account (mukhtasar) of the completion of the history as we are able, and we ask God Almighty for his assistance in this, verily He is able to do anything, and to Him is the return.¹ The heading, "Beginning of the year 662", follows, and the account of Sharaf ad dīn's embassy, as in 1703 f. 172a, (the date 660 being the correct one). The real beginning of 662 is on f. 427a.

The whole of the Supplement is found in MS. 1703, ff. 172-216 1702 having the years 660-680, (ff. 425-441 = 1703. ff. 172-209). 1703, however, occasionally omits part of the text as found in 1702, e.g. the account of 663 A.H., (f. 183a omits 1702, f. 435a, lines 1-5), that of 665 A.H. (f. 183b, omits 1702 f. 435b, lines 8-17): that of 667-668 A.H. (f. 185a omits 1702 f. 437a, lines 6-12): part of 673 A.H. (f. 185b omits 1702 f. 437b-438a, line 8). It is curious that the position is reversed in this portion of the MSS., 1702 having the fuller form of the text.

The Supplement for most years gives no more than a summary of events, but there are some longer accounts, especially of the author's grandfather Sharaf ad dīn,¹ his embassy in 660, and his obituary notice, 662. There is a long account of the siege of Antioch, 666, and a number of letters and poems written by the author.²

1. See note on Chapter 6.

2. 1702. ff. 426a-b. 427a-434a. 436a-b. 1703 ff. 208b-216.

An addition to the Mufarrij, 1702 ff.395-424.

The folios (395-424) inserted in No. 1702 between the end of 658 & the beginning of the supplement contain a detailed account of the years 659 to 661, and especially of the movements of Baibars during the time. There are folios missing before f.395, so that the way in which this section was connected with the rest is unknown. There is also a folio or more missing before f.425, so that the end of the account of 661, and the beginning of the poem quoted on f.425a are also lost. We have already shown how the beginning of the Supplement has been altered to suit the insertion of this section.

There is a MS in the British Museum which is said to be the Life of Baibars, by his secretary, Muḥyī ad dīn b. 'Abd az Zāhir.¹ A comparison of the text of folios 395-424 with this MS shows that there is a very close relationship between them, for though there are small differences, the text is for the most part identical. There is a summary of this Life of

1. Brit. Mus. Add. 23331, 97 ff. It ends in 663. A.H., and the beginning and the end are both missing. It is a Thirteenth or early Fourteenth Century MS. Muḥyī ad dīn's work was written during the reign of Baibars' son Sa'īd, 676-679. See Brock.i.318, Wuest. Gesch.366. Article by Paul Casanova, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique à Caire.vi.p.493-505, L'Historien Abd aḥ Dhāhir.

Baibars in Paris,¹ and a comparison with its text shows that for these years, it might well be taken from 1702 ff. 395-424. The text in 1702 appears to be a rather fuller form of the corresponding text of the British Museum MS. It is clear that they both come from the same original, and this leads us to the conclusion that the source of this section is Muḥyī ad dīn's life of Baibars.

The question as to who made the insertion remains unanswered. It was made subsequent to the writing of the Supplement, (probably completed in 695, and certainly before Ibn Wāṣil's death in 697), and it was also made subsequent to Ibn Wāṣil's death, (for the phrase "May God have mercy on him", replaces the earlier "May God preserve his life," in the altered form of introduction to the Supplement.)

Certain passages in 1702 ff. 395-424 however do not come from Muḥyī ad dīn's Life. These are the two accounts of the embassy of Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī from Maṣṣūr of Ḥamāh to Baibars in 660.

One is taken from the Supplement, (ff. 425b-6b-ff.411a-b.) except that the verbs in the first person, (ʿAlī b. ʿAbd ar Raḥīm accompanied his grandfather on this occasion), have been altered to the third. The other says that Baibars - - - - -

1. Paris Catalogue, No.1707. MS dated 716, by Shafi ʿī b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās.

received him well because he had been of some use to him in 657, when Baibars came to join Nāṣir Yūsuf in Damascus,¹ and it is followed by a quotation from Ibn Wāṣil, (the only time his name is mentioned in the course of this section), saying that he asked Sharaf ad dīn about this meeting and was told that Nāṣir Yūsuf was overjoyed at Baibars' arrival. This again is followed by the story given in the Supplement (f.425b) about Bunduqdār buying Baibars in Ḥamāh, after Maṣṣūr's mother had refused to buy him. (1702 f. 404a-b.) Further on, (f.422a), it is said that Sharaf ad dīn found Ashraf Mūsā of Ḥomṣ very ill when passing through Ḥomṣ on his return journey.²

Why these passages have been inserted it is difficult to guess. The insertion of the whole section may have been made by someone interested in Sharaf ad dīn. The mention of Ibn Wāṣil's name is not conclusive, as it would have been easy for the scribe to repeat the familiar formula,³ but there is no reason why he should not have asked Sharaf ad dīn about Baibars and Nāṣir Yūsuf, and as the object of the person who made the insertion would be to make it appear the work of ^{16a}the Wāṣil, this may be a genuine quotation from him, put in by the interpolator.

1. See Summary, 657.

2. He died in 662.

3. "Qāla Sāhib at Tarīk Jamāl ad dīn b. Wāṣil", occurs frequently with variations in 1702. (The other two MSS usually omit it or read "Qultu" instead.)

One other passage may be noted which is found in 1702 and not in the British Museum MS of Muḥyī ad dīn. The whole account of Baibars' visit to Alexandria in 661 is shorter in the latter, and in particular a paragraph is omitted describing the decorations there, in the first person, and ending, "The Author says, I was present at all this." (1702 f. 423b.) It is possible that this passage belongs to the original text of Muḥyī ad dīn's life, and that he is the person referred to. Otherwise it must be due to the person who inserted the passage in 1702, and who was either there himself, or thought that Ibn Wāṣil had been. There is no reason why Ibn Wāṣil should not have been in Alexandria in 661, but he cannot himself have said so here.

A detailed study of the text of this section belongs rather to a study of Muḥyī ad dīn than of Ibn Wāṣil. It is impossible with the evidence available to determine how it came to form part of this MS of the Mufarrij, and from the point of view of the Mufarrij, it is insufficient to conclude that it can neither be the work of Ibn Wāṣil nor a later addition for which he could have been responsible, since it is certainly added subsequently to the Supplement.

A consideration of the evidence which has been given in this chapter concerning the Manuscripts and additions to the Mufarrij leaves us without the answer to several problems, and only indicates some of what must have happened to the text in the hundred years after it was written. We have three MSS written within a hundred years of the date of composition. Two of them represent the text in different forms, it might even be said in different editions. What lies between these and the autograph MS made by Ibn Wāṣil himself?

Ibn Wāṣil may himself have made two editions of the Mufarrij, and there is a certain amount of internal evidence in favour of this view. Cambridge 1079 would in that case represent the earlier edition, as it is dedicated to Mubārīz ad din Aqūsh, who died in 672. The differences between 1702 and 1703 cannot, however, be accounted for by assuming that Ibn Wāṣil produced first one and then the other, for both of them include material belonging to a later date. The explanation of their divergencies must be sought elsewhere than in Ibn Wāṣil's own work, and were we to accept the hypothesis that Ibn Wāṣil made two editions, we should be obliged to conclude that both 1702 and 1703 belonged to the later edition. On the whole, however, the balance of evidence is against this hypothesis.¹

1. See Chapter XII for a discussion of the date of the Mufarrij.

According to the author of the Supplement, Ibn Wāṣil dictated the Mufarrij. There were therefore probably in existence Manuscripts of varying value according to the accuracy of the students who took them down at the author's dictation. Possibly the in^accuracies of 1702 may be traced to an original taken down in this way. At any rate, there must have been at the beginning of the Fourteenth Century, A.D. two MSS, one the original of 1703, and closely resembling the Autograph, with the addition of the Supplement, the other with a shorter and less accurate text, and also with the Supplement. Into this latter MS was inserted some time at the beginning of the Fourteenth Century part of Muḥyī ad dīn's life of Baibars, with a few alterations. This was either done by the scribe of 1702, or in the MS from which it was copied, with a view to completing the information given by Ibn Wāṣil, which breaks off suddenly in the middle of 659. At the beginning of the following Century, a MS containing this insertion, in a state of dilapidation, was rebound in Egypt by a clerk, and so far had Ibn Wāṣil's work fallen out of circulation that he could add his own name as the author without taking the trouble to alter the work in any way. This action saved the MS for us. This much of the later history of the Mufarrij can be deduced from the manuscripts.

Comparative Table of Manuscripts.

<u>Contents</u>	<u>1079</u>	<u>1702</u>
Preface. Early history of the Ayyūbids.	pp.1-5	
Rise of the Atābek dynasty. Aqsunqūr.	5-14	
Zankī. 494-530.	15-40	
" 531-539.	41-56	ff.2-9
" 539-541.	55-57	---
D.of Zankī, accession of Nūr ad dīn.	58-65	108-111
Nūr ad dīn. 542-558.	65-86	(254=71-72)
" " 559-560.	87-91	27-28
Shīrkūh, 561-564.	91-99	---
" 564.	99-103	116,29
564-565.	103-118	---
566-569. D. of Nūr ad dīn.	119-167	30-57
Saladīn. 569-571.	167-189	57-69
572-576.	189-224	(114=221-222)
576-580.	224-254	71-77,112,(2 ff.missing), 78-79,142-145,80-81.
580-582.	254-271	
583	271-302	82, (1 f.missing) 10-26
583-584	302-324	---
Siege of Acca, 584-6	324-371	83-89,70,115 (1 f.missing), 90-107
587	371-389	---
587-588	389-400	124-131
D.of Saladīn, accession of Afdal 588-592	400-470	(113=452-3)
Adil, 593-595	470-481	132-141
596-598	481-496	---
599-614	496-555	146-183
Kāmil, 615	555-571	---
616. Account of the Tartars, 617.	571-600	184-202

Comparative Table of Manuscripts (contd.)

<u>Contents</u>	<u>1702</u>	<u>1703</u>
617, cont. Account of Mansūr of Hamāh.	Some folios missing. 203-207	
618. Kāmil, cont.	207-211	
End of 618, Beginning of 619.	Folios missing.	
619-624.	212-250.	
625.	251, 117-119, 252.	
626.	253, 120-123, 255-262.	
627-635.	262-310	
D. of Kāmil, 635.	311-313.	ff.1-5
*Adil and Ayyūb, 635-7.	314-339	6-8 (1f. missing), 9-28.
Ayyūb, 638.	339-344	29-34
638, cont. - 643.	---	34-52
643, cont. - 646	345-355	52-61
647, St. Louis' Crusade, D. of Ayyūb.	355-360	62-67
Biography of Ayyūb.	---	67-74
Mu'azzam, 647-8.	361-384	74-107
Aibak, 648-655.	---	108-126
656.	385, (about 6 ff. missing) 386-390	127-143
657. Qutuz.	390-394	144-148
658-659. Baibars.	---	149-171
(659-661)	(395-424)	
Supplement 660-680	425-441	172-189
681-695	---	190-216

CHAPTER XII

The date of the Mufarrij.

"Nearly ninety-seven years have gone by during which Mansūr and his fathers have ruled in Hamāh, up to the day when this book has been composed, which is in the year 671, and we ask God, may he be praised, that he will continue their reign, and that of their seed, until the day of religion." ¹ This is the conclusion of a note by Ibn Wāṣil on the handing over of Hamāh to Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn by his uncle Saladin, in 574, and it gives us the date of at least the early part of the Mufarrij. Ibn Wāṣil frequently gives these comments, carrying the history of a family or a place up to the time of writing, and later mentioning that people he is describing are still alive. They give us various indications of the date of composition, most of them fitting in with that just given, 671, but several of them indicating a date several years later. Two possibilities present themselves to account for this discrepancy, first that Ibn Wāṣil wrote the Mufarrij over a period of many years, and second that he wrote it in 671-672, and later, after the death of Mansūr (683), either made additions to it, or produced a

1. 1079. p. 208

fresh edition. Either possibility has a parallel among his contemporaries. Ibn Khallikān, also a judge, started his great work, the Wafayāt al A'yan, in 654, but it was 672 before he finished it. He was interrupted by the many duties of his post as Chief Qādī of Syria, between 659 and 669 and though he did not cease working on it altogether during these years, he only finished it after his dismissal and return to Cairo in 669.² Abū Shāma, on the other hand, finished the Kitāb ar Raudatāin and lectured on it, then found material that he wished to add to the end of the book.² There are two versions of Sibṭ b. al Jauzī's Mir'at az zamān,³ and Al Fāriqī, in the previous century, wrote two editions of his History of Mayyāfāriqīn, the first in 560 and the second in 572. With these possibilities in view, we will examine the passages in the Mufarrij which bear upon the question.

1. Wuest. Gesch. 358.

2. "After this book had been finished, and had been given as lectures, (ismā'ihī), once, I found material which it seemed good to me to add to the book." AS.ii.p.232.

3. Jewett, in the preface to the Facsimile, says that the Mukhtasar in the British Museum, (Add.23279), is an enlarged edition of the original. For Al Fāriqī see Chapter XIII, Sources.

All the relevant passages in the first volume agree with the date 671, except two, and one of these exceptions must be due to a copyist's error, as it comes before the passage, quoted above, saying that Ibn Wāṣil, is writing in 671. The passage refers to the capture of the Bāṭinī fortresses in Syria by Baibars, who took possession of the last of them in 670, and apart from the phrase "May God have mercy on him", indicating his death, it fits in with the date 671. It would be easy for a copyist, or for Ibn Wāṣil himself at a later date, to insert the common formula. A passage more than half way through Vol. 1 shows that it was written before 675, for it refers to Mu'īn ad dīn Barwānah as ruling the Bilād ar Rūm, and he was killed by Baibars in 675. As this comes after the second passage indicating a later

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1. 1079.p.125.1702.f.34a. For the capture of the Bāṭinī strongholds, 668-670, see Abulf.v.26,28.30. For the addition of "rahiḥamahu Allāhu" cf.1702.f.250b, where the name of Baibars is followed by "May God make his reign eternal, and have mercy upon him".
 2. 1079,p.415. Death of Qilij Arslān, 588, followed by a note carrying the history of the Bilād ar Rūm down to the time of writing, when a young son of the Seljūq Rukn ad dīn is said to be nominal ruler, Mu'īn ad dīn Barwānah having the power. A similar reference is found, 1079,p.140=1702.f.41b. Rukn ad dīn Qilij Arslān IV ruled alone from 655 to 663, when he was assassinated by his vizier Mu'īn ad dīn Sulaimān Perwānē. The latter set his infant son, Ghiyāth ad dīn Kaikhusrū III on the throne. Baibars killed him in 675. For the Seljūqs see Zambaur, p.143. For the Perwānēs, see Zambaur, p.147, Abulf.v.38. Encyc.III.704.

date, (a reference to Qalāwūn, who ruled Egypt, 679-689), we are justified in supposing that this reference is inserted later, and an examination of the text confirms this view.¹ It is also confirmed by two other passages in which Baibars is referred to and not Qalāwūn.² From all this we may conclude that Volume I at any rate was written mostly in 671, and finished certainly not much later. The fact that it is dedicated to Mubārīz ad dīn Aqūsh, and presented to his library, and that he died at the end of 672,³ leads us to suppose that it was finished in time to be given to him before his death. There would have been little point in presenting the work to a dead patron, whose family were only children.⁴

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1. 1079.p.239. Death of Farūkh Shāh, 578, followed by a note on the subsequent history of Ba'albek, its Ayyūbid rulers, its capture by the Tartars, 658, its recapture by Qutuz. "After him Baibars ruled it. Then after him it came to our master the mighty Sultān, Manşūr Saif ad dīn Qalāwūn, may the mercy of God be upon all the kings of Islām, and on the rest of the Moslems," (The last phrase is curious.) The reference to Qalāwūn reads like an addition.
 2. 1079.p.268. 582, Zāhir b.Saladin is made deputy in Aleppo, followed by note on the history of Aleppo, up till its capture by the Tartars, and recapture by Qutuz, after which Baibars holds it. 1079.p.276 = 1702.f.11a. 'Eulogy of Saladin, Nur ad dīn and Baibars as defenders of Islām, after the account of the battle of Haṭṭīn, 583.
 3. See c. XI. The preface, under 1079, and for Mubārīz ad dīn, see c.IX.
 4. The other passages referring to events subsequent to the end of the Mufarrij in Vol.i are:

The second volume (617-635) mentions one event which occurred in 672, and it was written before the death of Baibars in 676. Both these dates are given by references in the long and interesting biography of Mu'azzam, d.624, in which Ibn Wāsil tells us that one of his wives, Nāṣir Dā'ūd's mother, lived until 672, and also tells us that one of his sons, Qāhīr Bahā ad dīn 'Abd al malik was still alive in the service of Baibars in Damascus. They both died in 676.¹ All except one of the other indications of date agree with this. Ibn Wāsil mentions Sirāj ad dīn al Urmawī,

1079.p.67.543, Death of Shāhanshāh, ancestor of "our master Mansūr, may God make his reign eternal".

1079.p.185,265. Notes on the History of Homs, to 662 Death of Aḥraf Mūsā, the last Ayyūbid prince there.

1079.p.319-320.584. Saladin captures Ṣahyūn, and gives it to Nāṣir ad dīn Mankurbas b.Khimārtakīn, whose son and grandson continue to hold it until 671, when the grandson, (Saif ad dīn Muhammad), dies, and Baibars takes it over. For this see Abulf.v.30.

1079.p.471.=1702.f.133a.594 'Ādil captures Jaffa, followed by a note on the four captures of Jaffa, the fourth being in 664, "by the hand of Rukn ad dīn Baibars ruler of Egypt". (1079 omits this last phrase).

1079.p.508.= 1702.f.153a.600, the Franks capture Constantinople, and keep it until 660.

1079.p.566.Death of 'Ādil,615, and account of his sons. The youngest of them died in Damascus,669. This was Amjad Taqī ad dīn 'Abbās, Wiet.Manhal Sāfi,no.1294

1. 1702.f.250a.250b. For Mu'azzam, see above, c.III. For Qāhīr Bahā ad dīn, see Wiet; Manhal Sāfi, no.1478.b.622,d.676.

"now Qāḍī of the Bilād ar Rūm", who died in 682.¹ He hopes that the citadel at Aleppo, (destroyed by Hūlāgū in 658), will soon be restored. (The rebuilding was finished in 690).² He mentions a son of Ṣālih Ismā'īl, (Manṣūr Shihāb ad dīn Mahmūd),³ who was still alive, and who died in 688.

There remain two passages, both comments on the death of Jalāl ad dīn Khawāriḡm Shāh, (628), and later victories over the Tartars. The first mentions the Battle of 'Ain Jālūt, 658, the battle near Homs in 659, Baibars' victory at Bīra, (672), his victory in the Bilād ar Rūm, (675), and Qalāwūn's victory near Homs, (680).⁴ As the text reads, the last two might easily be additions.

1. Brook.i.506. See note on c.IX.

2. 1702.f.282b. Abulf.v.100.

3. Wiet.Manhal Ṣāfī, no.2470. Ashraf's only child, a daughter, was married to him in 637, when his father Ṣālih Ismā'īl took Damascus for the second time. She had been married to Jawād b.Maudūd, when he was deputy in Damascus, (635), but she was divorced. Ibn.Wasīl says that she is still with her second husband, Manṣūr. 1702.f.308a.

4. 1702.f.273b. "Awe of them did not cease to be great in peoples' hearts until Quṭuz defeated them at 'Ain Jālūt (may God show ample mercy on him and make him dwell in paradise). They were then defeated for the second time at Homs by Ashraf b. Manṣūr of Homs and Manṣūr of Hamāh. The Baibars, ruler of Egypt, defeated them on the Euphrates, which was their third defeat. They were again defeated by him in the Bilād ar Rūm, (their fourth defeat). Then Qalāwūn, ruler of Egypt and Syria, defeated them with the help of God near Homs. This was their fifth defeat, and there had been nothing like it before. We hope for the uprooting of their stem and their annihilation by God without delay, if God almighty will". For the dates see Abulf.v.30,38,56-58.

The second passage explains a tradition which is taken to refer to the Tartars. It is given in two forms, and the first runs, "Verily they will be uprooted in the third drive". This is explained as referring to (i) their defeat of 'Alā ad dīn Khawāri^zm Shāh, (ii) their defeat of Jalāl ad dīn his son, and (iii) their invasion of Syria, when they were defeated at 'Ain Jālūt, Homs, and Bira, ("by the Sultān of the time, Baibars".) This was probably written during Baibars' lifetime, and evidently before Qalāwūn's victory in 680. A passage then follows which gives the tradition in a different form, and explains it to include Qalāwūn's victory. The inference is that the second part is inserted later, some time after 680. This strengthens the supposition that the reference to Qalāwūn in the first passage referred to¹ is an insertion.

The conclusion to be drawn about this second volume is

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1. 1702.f.275b. In the first part, there seems to be a contrast between the reference to "the Turks and their Sultān at that time, (yauma'idhin) Qutuz," and the reference to "the Sultān of the (present?) time, (sultān as zamān), Baibars". The text of the second part runs, "There is also a tradition, "Verily they will drive the Moslems three drives, and in the third they will be uprooted." I think that the first drive is that in which they took Persia and 'Irāq, the second that in which they took Syria as far as Gaza, (i.e. 658), and the people fled before them to the Hijāz, and the third drive that in which they reached Homs, and Qalāwūn, (may God have mercy on him,) met them there, and we hope that this third will be their uprooting and destruction, if God will. The first tradition is the more reliable." If the phrase "rahimahu Allāhu" is original, this must have been inserted after Qalāwūn's death in 689.

that it might possibly have been written in 672, directly after Volume one, and was certainly written in the next four years before the death of Baibars.

The third volume contains no evidence of having been written before the death of Baibars, though only three passages could not have been written before 676. Part of it was written before 682, for Ibn Wāsil says that Muwahhīd^a, the son of Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb, who ruled Hishn Kaifā from 647¹ until his death in 682, was still alive.

On the other hand, only a few folios later, reference is made to Muzaffar as the ruling prince of Hamāh, and his father Mansūr as dead. (d.683).² This might, as the text runs, easily have been altered after the death of Mansūr, but a similar passage is found under the year 657, when the birth of Muzaffar is given together with eulogies of him³ as the present ruler of Hamāh. In between comes a passage

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1. 1703.f.34a. (partly in 1702 f.364a.) Mu'azzam left him in Hishn Kaifā when he himself set out for Egypt, 647. His father told Ibn Wāsil that he was then about ten. He had several sons. He ruled Hishn Kaifā under the Tartars, and after his death in 682 his descendants continued to rule there until 930. See Zambaur, p.99. Wiet, Manhal Sāfi, has notices of several of his descendants. His name was Muwahhīd Taqī ad dīn 'Abdullāh.
 2. 1703.f.49b. "Account of the accession of our master Mansūr etc. to the throne of his father, may God give rest to his soul and make eternal the reign of his son, our master and ruler, Muzaffar".
 3. 1703.f.146b=1702.f.392b.

referring to a certain 'Izz ad dīn Afram, ("Now Amīr Jāndār of the great Sultan Qalāwūn, may God make his reign eternal") with whom Ibn Wāsil travelled when on pilgrimage (649)¹. While it is possible that all these may be later insertions, as in the first and second volumes, there is nothing to prove it. If we take them as part of the work in its original form, this volume must have been written between 682 (or before) and 689, (death of Qalāwūn). The rest of the references to current events would fit this or the earlier date.²

1. 1703.f.110a. Wiet, Manhal Sāfi, no.568.d.695.

2. 1703.f.70a. Fakhr ad dīn (Ibrahīm) b. Luqmān al As'ardi is "still alive". He wrote the deed appointing Ibn Wāsil to the Jami' al Aqmar in 644. Wiet, Manhal Sāfi, no.62 d.693, with refs. to Maqrizī.

1703.f.76a. One of Ayyūb's Khādims, called As Suhailī, wrote the forged letters which came to Cairo after Ayyūb's death. He was "still alive". Shams ad dīn Sawāb as Suhaili died in 706, almost a hundred years old. He was commandant of Kerak. Wiet, Manhal Sāfi, no.1213. Maq. ii.2.272. ~~Durar II.no.1984.~~

Ibn Hajar, Ad Durar al Kāminah, vol.ii. no.1984.

1703.f.95a-b. (Omitted from 1702.f.376). A note on the history of Yemen, and the beginning of the Rasūlid dynasty. "Muzaffar Shams ad dīn Yūsuf is now ruler of Yemen. He is a scholar and generous, loves intelligent people and scholars, and searches for them. Scholars take refuge with him, so that he may honour them, and show them kindnesses, may God give him the best of rewards." He was the second Rasūlid ruler of Yemen, and succeeded his father, Mansūr 'Umar in 647. He died in 694. Lane Poole: Moh.Dyn.p.99. Abulf.v.126

1703.f.100b,f.131a. Accounts of Nāsir Dā'ūd, his movements in 648 and his death in 656, given to Ibn Wāsil by his son, Muzaffar Shihāb ad dīn Ghāzī, "now living in Cairo". Wiet. Manhal Sāfi, no.1780.d.712. (the date 689, given there for his birth, is an error.) ~~Durar III.no.516.b.639.~~

Ibn Hajar, Ad Durar al Kāminah, vol. —

(published Hyderabad 4 vols.)

A close examination of the evidence which we have given leaves us still with the possibility that the Mufarrij was all written in c.671-2, and all presented to Mubārīz ad dīn Aqūsh, and that Ibn Wāṣil, about twelve years later, during Qalāwūn's reign and after the death of Mansūr of Ḥamāh, made certain alterations, either in a new edition, or in the course of his lectures on the work. On the whole, however, the alternative explanation, seems more probable. This is that he wrote the first volume in 671, and presented it to Mubārīz ad dīn Aqūsh, wrote the second volume in 672, or between then and 676, and the third during the reign of Qalāwūn, and mostly subsequent to the death of Mansūr in 683. It is difficult to believe that Ibn Wāṣil could have written the whole work in the course of about two years. The first half of it is a complicated network of quotations from several earlier sources, and cannot have been put together quickly. The second half is mostly Ibn Wāṣil's own material, but it is well arranged, accurate, and thorough throughout, and it is difficult to imagine the chief qādī of a busy city putting it together in the course of two years. Ibn Wāṣil, after completing the first volume, probably worked at it as he had the leisure, and added the later comments to volumes one and two in the course of his lectures. We find parallels

to these additions in the work of Abū Shāma,¹ and even Ibn Khallikān, who spent eighteen years on writing his Biographical Dictionary, continued to add to it after he had² completed it.

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1. Abū Shāma occasionally gives comments on later history similar to those in the Mufarrij, some of them referring to events before 647. e.g. AS.i.263.(643), ii.205-6,(645), references to later events e.g. AS.i.277.(658.) are later additions, and one, AS.ii 226, is clearly inserted. Abū Shāma finished lecturing on the work for the first time in 649. Mudharrif, Paris, 5852.f.206a.
 2. The autograph MS in the British Museum has numerous additions in the margin. Brit.Mus.Supp.to Cat.Ar.MSS. p.685-687,no.607.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Sources of the Mufarrij.

The Mufarrij al Kurūb falls into two parts, the first continuing up to the death of Saladin and consisting almost entirely of a network of quotations from earlier histories, and the second including the rest of the chronicle 589-659 and consisting mainly of material peculiar to Ibn Wāṣil, though he continues to use other sources when they are available. From a historical point of view, it is the second half of the chronicle which is valuable, as we have all the original sources of the first half, but from the point of view of historical writing, of the methods of a historian of the period when dealing with his material, the first half repays a close examination.

The main sources of the first half of the Mufarrij are the two histories of Ibn al Athīr, and the Kitāb ar Raudatain. Ibn al Athīr continues his big history, the Kāmil, until 628, two years before his death, (630). Part of it, at any rate, was written before 608, when he wrote the History of the Atābeks of Mōṣil, his second historical work, for he quotes the Kāmil in it. Much of the material in the two works coincides, but the History of the Atābeks naturally gives a

fuller account of the history of Mōṣil than does the general history, and it is clear that Ibn Wāṣil used both. He may have met Ibn al Athīr in Aleppo in 627-8. Both the Kāmil and the History of the Atābeks are frequently used by Abū Shāma, but Ibn Wāṣil usually seems to use the originals rather than Abū Shāma's quotations, though this cannot in many cases be proved. Ibn Wāṣil takes his account of the origin of the Ayyūbids, of Aqsunqūr and Zankī, and of the reign of Nūr ad dīn until 564, almost entirely from Ibn al Athīr.¹ The rest of Nūr ad dīn's reign is taken mainly from Ibn al Athīr, with an increasing number of passages from Abū Shāma, as the latter's sources for Saladin (ʿImād ad dīn and Bahā ad dīn), become fuller. Ibn Wāṣil's account of Saladin's reign interweaves Ibn al Athīr with Abū Shāma. He sometimes quotes Ibn al Athīr by name² and sometimes mentions the Kāmil (once for a passage which comes from the Atābeks)³, and though he does not mention the History of the Atābeks, some passages, notably the biographies of Zankī and

1. For this and the rest of the chapter, see the Summary, where the Sources are indicated.

2. ^{without acknowledgement} Once he copies a passage from Ibn al Athīr without even changing the first person into the third. See Summary, 628.

3. 1079, p. 166 = 1702 f.56b.

Nūr ad dīn, are clearly taken from it. Ibn Wāṣil does not usually give the source from which he draws his material.

Abū Shāma's book, the Kitāb ar Raudatain, is itself compiled from earlier sources on the reigns of Nūr ad dīn and Saladin. Ibn Wāṣil only quotes it by name once, but it is his main source for the life of Saladin. Abū Shāma himself in the preface¹ gives us an account of how he wrote the Kitāb ar Raudatain, and the sources that he used, and it is interesting to us both as concerns the book itself and as a parallel to Ibn Wāṣil's composition. He says first that he turned to the study of history after spending most of his life on law and literature, (he was for many years a teacher in Damascus), and he then discusses the value of the study of history. When he wanted to write a book to contain the material he had collected on the subject, the first thing he did was to take the largest work he knew, Ibn Al 'Asākir's Biographical Dictionary, and summarise it, adding "matters of profit from other large books" and verifying it. Having finished this, "I was attracted by the life of Nūr ad dīn and what I heard of his affairs. I then

1. AS. 1 2-5. For Abū Shāma, see above, C.III.

came across biographies of Saladin, in other books. I found that they were like the two 'Umars in ancient times. . . They were both sovereigns of our city (i.e., Damascus) and God has given us a special concern with them, and it is incumbent upon us to mention their virtues. . . I resolved to write a book giving an account of their two reigns only. Perhaps kings will read it, and follow their example, which is certainly an example to modern rulers." He then goes on to give a list of his sources, mentioning Ibn al 'Asākir, Ibn Qalānisī, Ibn al Athīr's History of the Atābeks, Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād, 'Imād ad dīn, the letters of the Qādī al Fāḍil, and the dīwāns of 'Imād ad dīn and other poets. He continues, "I picked out what concerned the two reigns, or one of them. Part of it I heard from the mouths of trustworthy men. I abridged all there was about the events of the two reigns, the deaths of Caliphs, emirs, powerful men and others, and it became a pleasant collection, profitable for kings and great men to study."

This, with minor variations, might have been written by Ibn Wāṣil about the writing of the Mufarrij. In the first half he treated Abū Shāma's book in the same way as Abū Shāma had treated the original sources, with the difference that Abū Shāma, unlike most later Arabic historians, always refers

to his source, while Ibn Wāṣil usually does not.¹ Abū Shāma puts the different accounts of an event one after the other. Ibn Wāṣil takes his two accounts and intermingles them. He is extraordinarily careful to use the exact words of the original, and though he usually abbreviates he hardly ever changes the wording, so that the exact source can be ascertained. Sometimes sentences from Abū Shāma's quotations from 'Imād ad dīn and Bahā ad dīn are interwoven with Ibn al Athīr's account, sometimes it is the other way round. Certain passages show quite clearly that he is using Abū Shāma and not the sources of Abū Shāma.²

There are many other sources quoted in the Kitāb ar Raudatain besides those mentioned in the Preface. These include Ibn abī Tayy's Life of Saladin³, Ibn Qālanisī⁴, and

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1. Abul Maḥāṣin marks his sources carefully. Maqrīzī and Abulfida do not.
 2. An example is 1079 p.330 = 1702 f.86a-b.585 A.H. Saladin is in Acca, ('Imād q.AS), goes to Damascus (Bahā q.AS), where he receives an embassy from the Caliph, and sends him back presents, ('Imād q.AS). The cross from the top of the Dome of the Rock is buried in Bagdad (Ibn al Qādisī q.AS).
AS.ii.138-9 has made up his text from quotations in the above order. Ibn Wāṣil has abbreviated AS, omitting the references to sources.
 3. See Chapter 3, and Summary, 570 A.H.
 4. Only in one place is there any likelihood of Ibn Wāṣil having used him. See Summary, 533 A.H.

the history of Ibn al Qādisī¹. It is noticeable that Ibn Wāṣil in his use of Abū Shāma quotes almost entirely from the latter's main sources, (‘Imād ad dīn, Bahā ad dīn and Ibn al Athīr), and only in a few cases does he reproduce quotations from the other sources. He does take numerous poems from Abū Shāma, and certain facts which are given on Abū Shāma's own authority, and he also quotes from him several letters by the Qādī al Fāḍil.

The question then arises as to whether Ibn Wāṣil used the works of Bahā ad dīn and ‘Imād ad dīn themselves as well as Abū Shāma's quotations from them. ‘Imād ad dīn al Isḥāhānī came to Damascus in 562 and joined Saladin in 569. He became his secretary, and wrote his letters, besides writing several historical works, in which he eulogises his master and his achievements. His chief characteristic was a flowery and wordy style, which suited the letter-writing of the period, but in a history was found to be tedious and confusing, with the result that his books fell out of circulation, and one of them, the Barq Shāmī, is lost except

1. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al Kutubī al Qādisī, a lecturer on the Qorān from Qādisīyya, and a contemporary of Yāqūt, wrote a continuation of Ibn al Jauzī's Muntazam, up till 616 A.H. Abū Shāma quotes him frequently. Wuest. Gesch. 311.

for one volume, and is only known from the quotations of Abū Shāma and others. The Fath has survived, but another work of his, his history of the Seljūqs, has also only survived in an abridgement.¹

Abū Shāma describes 'Imād ad dīn's work as follows: "He has written two books, both of them in rhymed prose, containing eloquent expressions and correct sentiments. The first is Al Fath al Qudsī, in which he deals shortly with Saladin's conquests and biography, and which he begins in 583. The second is Al Barq ash Shāmī, in which he mentions occurrences, such as raids and conquests, etc., which took place between the year of his coming to Damascus, in 562, and the death of Saladin in 589. It contains a large part of the events of the end of Nūr ad dīn's reign, but in both books his style is tedious, and the person wishing to find out about an event is confused by the words that precede it and forgets it. I have cut down these rhymes, except for a few that I liked in their place, and which were not without connection with the matter discussed. You will find some of

1. Barq Shāmī, Bodl.1.761, (578-580). Al Fath al Qussī fil Fath al Qudsī, ed. Landberg, Leyden 1888. Nuṣrat al Fatra, (History of the Seljūqs), abridged by Būndārī. See bibliography.

them in the account of the taking of Jerusalem. I plucked from those long treatises and wearying rhymes the affairs they were meant to describe, and anything curious and profitable."¹

It is hardly surprising that Ibn Wāṣil used the abridged quotations in the Kitāb ar Raudatain instead of going to the labour of extracting the meaning from the original again. It is clear that he did use the Raudatain, as his quotations agree word for word with Abū Shāma's. But it is also almost certain that he goes behind Abū Shāma to the original text in a few places. This seems to be proved in one or two places for the Fath, where we have the original text.² It also seems probable that he quotes in certain places direct from the Barq Shāmī. These are the account of the invasion of the King of Germany, 586 A.H., where Ibn Wāṣil gives an account closely resembling that of the Fath, but not identical with it, and not from any other known source. While it may

1. AS.i.4-5.

2. 1079,p.337 = 1702 f.115a, an account of Saladin's approach to Acca. (ʿImād, Fath, ed. Landberg, p.187. Not quoted by AS).

1079,p.396 = 1702 f.129a, 588, the murder of the Marquis of Tyre. (ʿImād, Fath, ed. Landberg, p.420-422, partly q.AS.ii.196).

See also Summary, 588 and 589, A.H.

be Ibn Wāṣil's own, it is reasonable to suppose that he is using the Barq, and this is still more clear in the account of Ibn Rawāḥā, d. 585, where the genealogy forms part of the quotation from 'Imād ad dīn, but is not in either the Fath or Abū Shāma.¹ We know that Ibn Wāṣil used another work of 'Imād ad dīn's, (Al 'Utbā wal 'Uqbā), for the years 589-592 (see later).

It is not so easy to ascertain whether Ibn Wāṣil uses Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād's Life of Saladin in its original form, and only one passage has been found where he seems to go behind the quotations in Abū Shāma². This neglect of primary sources Ibn Wāṣil shares with other Arabic historians and his own work suffered later from the same tendency, being superseded by the work of his successor Abulfidā, which was largely extracted from the Mufarrij, and drove it out of circulation. He must undoubtedly have studied Bahā ad dīn's Life of Saladin, for in his old age Bahā ad dīn taught him in Aleppo.³

1. 1079, p. 354.342. An examination of the MS of Vol. V, 56 the Barq (Bodley. i. 761, 578-580 A.H.) does not give any conclusive evidence of Ibn Wāṣil having used it.

2. 1079, p. 336 = 1702, f. 70b. Ibn Wāṣil abbreviates Bahā ad dīn's account of Saladin's siege of Shaqif Arnūn, whereas AS II.40 gives only 'Imād ad dīn's account.

In 613, Ibn Wāṣil has a quotation from Bahā ad dīn, and it is not clear where it comes from. Perhaps it was told to Ibn Wāṣil personally.

3. See above, C.III.

There are various other sources used by Ibn Wāṣil, and we will take them in the order in which they come in the Mufarrij. The first is a scroll¹, written by a man called Ḥasan b. Ḡharīb al Ḥarāsī², and containing a genealogy of the Ayyūbids, traced to the tribe of the Banī Marra b. ʿAuf, and on to ʿAdnān. It was brought by the author to Muʿazzam of Damascus in 619, and is partly quoted also by Ibn Khallikān, in his article on Saladin, where he tells us that Muʿazzam and Nāṣir Dāʿūd read it with him, and received diplomas (Ijāzāt) from him saying so.³ Ibn Wāṣil did not use Ibn Khallikān's book, which was not yet published in 671 (when this part of the Mufarrij was written), and he evidently had copied the original.

Ibn Wāṣil four times quotes Ibn Munqidh, the first being an eyewitness account of the battle in which Zankī was defeated by the Caliph Mustarshid in 526, the second being a note quoting a verse of Mutanabbī on the occasion of the murder of Zankī, 541. The third is also in 541, and the fourth is an account of the capture of Jocelin and of Tāll

1. "Mudraj". 1079, p.1.

2. Of Ḥaras, in Egypt. IKh.IV.480.

3. IKh.IV.480.

Bashir in 546.¹ None of these come from the Memoirs², and Ibn Wāṣil was evidently using another work of his.

The eyewitness account of the battle in 526 was known to Ibn Khallikān, who mentions it in his article on Saladin, and says that it came in a book "in which he treats of different countries, and of the princes who were his contemporaries." Derenbourg gives a note on this account, and on the work in which it occurred, and he identifies it with the *Tarīkh al Qilā' wal Ḥuṣūn*, mentioned by Abūlfidā in his Geography. It is mentioned three times by Ibn Khallikān and it was arranged under the names of places, not names or dates.³ As the first quotation comes from it, we may assume that the rest also belong to it, and we therefore have four

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1. For reference, see Summary.
 2. See bibliography for the *Kitāb al I'tibār*. Usāma b. Murshid, called Ibn Munqidh, died in 584, aged eighty-five. The unique MS in the Escorial is not complete and lacks some pages at the beginning. It starts with the end of an account of this battle. Dhahabī, whose notice on Usāma from the *Tarīkh al Islām* is given by Derenbourg *Vie d'Ousāma*, vol. i, pp. 594-603, quotes from Usāma a passage in which he gives a list of the battles at which he was present, and this includes the battle in 526 between Zanki and Mustarshid (p. 602). This probably comes from the early part of the Memoirs, which is lost.
 3. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousāma*, I, pp. 146 and 332 (notes). The references are the following:-

Abūlfidā, *Geographie, Texte Arabe*, p. 225. "Bulūniyās: a fortress which the Moslems began in 454 A.H., a fact

passages from a work otherwise lost.¹

The next source used is the History of Mayyāfāriqīn by Ahmad b. al Azraq al Fāriqī, who wrote the final edition in 572, though he had already completed a shorter edition, in 560.² Ibn Wāsil does not quote him by name, but he gives two passages which come from his history, containing an account of the events of 530 A.H., given by actors in them to Al Fāriqī. The first is a description of the murder of

which Ibn Munqidh mentions in the "Tarīkh al Qilā'wal Ḥusūn."

Ibn Khallikān iii.459. Biography of Quṭb ad dīn Maudūd, d. Shawwāl, or Dhīl Hijja, 565. "Usāma states, in a little work of his containing an account of those provincial sovereigns who were his contemporaries, that Quṭb ad dīn died in Rabi' ii, 566. This is incorrect."

IKh.iv.482. Biography of Saladin. He says that Usāma was present at the Battle between Zankī and Mustarshid, 526, and has given an account of it in "the book in which he treats of the different countries and the princes who were his contemporaries. He mentions it in two places, first in the article on Arbela, and second in the article on Takrīt." This shows that it was arranged under places

IKh.iv.484. Biography of Saladin, cont. Zankī takes Ba'albek, 14 Šafar, 534. "We here admit the date given by Usāma b. Munqidh in the work in which he treats of the provinces and their kings", though Ibn Qalanisi gives a different date.

1. Derenbourg thinks that an anecdote quoted from Usāma b. Murshid by Ibn Shakir al Kutubi, (Fawat al Wafayat, i. p. 124), comes from the Tarīkh al Qilā'wal Ḥusūn. Derenbourg, Vie, i.p.332.
2. There is an article by Amedroz on this History, JRAS, 1902, p.785. The two editions are both in the British Museum; Or.5803, was written in 572, and is a Seventh Century MS 200 ff, (some missing). Or.6310 is the earlier version, written in 560. It was much used by 'Izz ad dīn b. Shaddād, d.684.

the Caliph Mustarshid at Marāgha, the accession of Rāshid, and the reasons for the choice of Muqtafi, derived from the Chancellor (Kātib al inshā) in Bagdād, Ibn al Anbārī. The second follows, after a passage taken from Ibn al Athir, describing how Rāshid sent to Zankī for help, and gives an account from Abul Qāsim al Hājib and Ibn al Anbārī, of the flight of Rāshid and the taking of the oath of allegiance to Muqtafi. These occur in the British Museum MS of Al Fāriqī, and are partly quoted by Amedroz in his edition of Ibn Qalānisi's History of Damascus.¹ Al Fāriqī was in Bagdād in 534 soon after Muqtafi's accession, and it was then that he got the account, quoted by Ibn Wāsil, from Ibn al Anbārī.² Ibn Wāsil also uses the Dīwān of ʿUmāra of Yemen,³ and

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1. Brit. Mus. Or.5803, ff.164b-167. Partly quoted by Amedroz, Ibn Qalānisi, p.250-252, n. and p.260.
 2. Amedroz, JRAS. loc.cit.
 3. Brock I.319. Derenbourg has edited the texts concerned with ʿUmāra, and written a life of him (ʿUmārah du Yemen, sa vie et son oeuvre). Vol. i contains the text of the Nukat al ʿAsriyya and of the Dīwān. Vol. ii, pt. I, contains other texts on ʿUmāra, including the completion of the Dīwān, letters, and pp.609-629 extracts from Ibn Wāsil's Mufarrij. (His ode on the Fatimids, 1079, p.128-130. His account of the death of ʿAdid, 1079, pp.138-9. His account of Tūrān Shāh's conquest of Yemen, 1079, pp.141-144. His account of the plot for the re-establishment of the Fātimids and ʿUmāra's execution, 569. 1079, pp.144-151). Vol.ii, pt.II, contains a biography of ʿUmāra.

the Autobiography which precedes the latter's work on the viziers of Egypt (An Nukat al 'Asrīyya fī Akhbār al Wuzarā al Miṣrīyya). From the Dīwān he takes a number of poems other than those quoted by Abū Shāma, and these are poems in praise of the vizier Shāwir and the last Fāṭimid Caliph 'Ādid¹, a poem written in defence of the Fāṭimids, and in repl² to one recited to Ayyūb by a certain Ibn abi Haṣīna², an ode on Ayyūb and a poem urging Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb to go and conquer Yemen³. Ibn Wāṣil gives us another poem by 'Umāra, not found in the Dīwān, on the Fāṭimids⁴. His account of 'Umāra following the account of his death in 569 comes from the Autobiography mentioned above, though it may be taken from Abū Shāma, who gives the same extracts⁵.

Most of the numerous poems quoted by Ibn Wāṣil in this first part of the Mufarrij are taken from Abū Shāma or Ibn al Athīr, but he must also have used several dīwāns and other collections of poetry besides. Notably he gives a number of poems from Ibn Sanā al Mulk⁶, and Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn.⁷

1. 1079. p.86-88 = Derenbourg, 'Umāra, vol.i, p.369, 84, 367-370, ii, 609, etc.
2. 1079, pp.114-5 = Derenbourg, 'Umāra, vol.i, pp.292-3.
3. 1079, p.139 = Derenbourg, 'Umāra, i.260-261.
4. 1079, p.42b-43a, quoted by Derenbourg, 'Umāra, i.212-214.
5. Derenbourg, 'Umāra, i. pp.23, 31, 32-34. AS, i.225-227.
6. Brock, i.261. Al Qādī 'Izz ad dīn Abul Qāsim Hibatallāh b. Sanā al Mulk, d.608. ~~Most of his dīwān is published by~~
See Hartmann, Muwaṣṣah, pp.47-55. The references in the Mufarrij are 1079, pp.245, 249, 256-7, 301, 458-9, 473.
7. 1079, p.302-303.

Twice he refers to the "History of the Qādī Shihāb ad dīn", both times about the account in that work of the vizier Ibn Hubaira, d.560; 1702 f.28b has the beginning of an account of Ibn Hubaira from this history (though 1079 omits this), and it is referred to later (f.30a), where he says in reference to Ibn Hubaira that he has given a different account of him in the history of the Qādī Shihāb ad dīn. This account does not come from (Shihāb ad dīn) Abū Shāma, and it probably belongs to the Tarīkh Kabīr Muẓaffarī by Shihāb ad dīn b.abi-d-Damm, Ibn Wāṣil's cousin.¹ This cannot be proved, as the work is lost, but it seems likely that Ibn Wāṣil would have used his cousin's history, and it is only surprising that he does not do so more often.

Enough has been said to indicate the way in which Ibn Wāṣil combined all these sources into an account of the early days of the Ayyūbid dynasty. The sources we have discussed account for almost all the first half of the Muḥarrirj, but here and there Ibn Wāṣil has added to them from his own knowledge. We have already discussed the two quotations from his Tarīkh Kabīr², and the comments he adds here and there

1. See above, C.II.

2. See C.X, no. 12.

on later history.¹ He also gives us certain facts not traced to his sources, especially about Ḥamāh, and these are brought out in the Summary. His accounts of the history of Aleppo give us a number of details which are not derived from Kamāl ad dīn b. ad ʿAdīm, and which probably come from his own knowledge. His biographical accounts are his own in many cases, and this is true of those of the Caliphs of the period (Muqtafī, Mustanjid, Zāhir, Mustadī).² He gives an account of the Fāṭimids, and of the different branches of the Ismāʿīlīs³. He also gives information derived from contemporaries of his own, notably the document about Nūr ad dīn's taxes, given him by a grandson of the vizier who drew it up (Muʿīn ad dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khālīd b. Muḥammad al Qaisarānī).⁴ The other cases are a story told by Ibn Wāṣil's friend Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī ʿAlī about his grandfather and Salādin, one about ʿUmāra's conspiracy, 569, by the Qādī Tāj ad dīn b. bint al Aʿazz, and another about a threat to suppress the Holy Fire, told to

1. See C.XII.

2. 1079, pp. 79-81, 118-121, 214-218, 331.

3. 1079, p. 123-130 = 1702, ff. 36a-38b.

4. 1702, 52a-54b.

Ibn Wāṣil by Fakhr al Qudāt b. Buṣāfa.¹ Ibn Wāṣil also gives some autobiographical details already used and a description of the Holy Fire.²

For the next few years, Ibn Wāṣil does not use Ibn al Athīr, whose account of events in Syria after the death of Saladin is sketchy and unreliable. This is largely because his brother, Diyā ad dīn b. al Athīr³, became vizier of Saladin's eldest son and successor in Damascus, Afdāl, and the part he played in affairs seems to have been largely instrumental in Afdāl's losing his kingdom. Ibn al Athīr

1. 1079, p.110, 146, 229.

2. See C.iii.

3. Diyā ad dīn Nasrallāh Abul Fath b. 'Abd al Karīm b. al Athīr al Jazarī, brother of the historian and of Majd ad dīn, who was high in the service of Nūr ad dīn of Mōṣil (Brock, i. 357). See Brock, i. 297, IKh, iii, 541-8. Ibn Wāṣil gives an account of him in 623, when he came to congratulate the Caliph Mustanṣir on his accession. "Among those who came to congratulate Mustanṣir was Diyā ad dīn b. al Athīr al Jazarī, who has been mentioned before in the account of Afdāl b. Saladin.- After leaving him, he entered the service of Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' of Mōṣil and he came to Bagdād as his envoy. . . . He was well versed in Literature and Rhetoric. Among his works is the well-known Al Mathal as Sā'ir, and his correspondence is eloquent and original." A long discussion follows of certain verses recited by him in Bagdād, in which Ibn Wāṣil finds a mistake. He died in 637. His correspondence is collected in the work entitled "Al Washy al Marqūm fī Hall al Manzūm." See D.S. Margoliouth, On the Royal Correspondence of Diyā ad dīn al Jazarī, Actes du Xe. congr. intern. d. or. sect. III, pp. 7-21.

does not once mention this brother, though he was himself in Damascus in 590. Ibn Wāṣil's full account of the events of these years is therefore of great value in the absence of other sources. For the years 589-592, it is largely derived from ʿImād ad dīn, whom he quotes frequently and who during this period was in the service of Afdal and wrote his letters, as he had written his father's. The Barq ends with the death of Saladin, and the clue to the origin of Ibn Wāṣil's quotations is found at the end of the Kitāb ar Raudatain, where Abū Shāma gives a brief summary of a treatise (Risāla) of ʿImād ad dīn's called Al ʿUtba wal ʿUqbā, which covered the years 589-592.¹ ʿImād ad dīn mentions this book at the end of the Barq,² and Abū Shāma gives the gist of it, adding some details on the same period from another book by ʿImād ad dīn, which he calls the Nihāt ar Rihla.³ A comparison of Ibn Wāṣil's quotations from ʿImād ad dīn and the text of Abū Shāma's summary of the ʿUtba show that Abū Shāma's summary might well be taken from Ibn Wāṣil's

1. AS, ii, 228-231.

2. AS, ii, 225.

3. AS, ii.231. Mentioned by Yāqūt, Irshād al Anīb, ed. Margoliński, vol. vii, p. 86.

quotations, so that we have clearly in Ibn Wāṣil a full quotation or summary of ʿImād ad dīn's ʿUtbā, derived from the original and not from Abū Shāma. He may also have used the Nihlat ar Rihla.

ʿImād ad dīn's account of these years makes out that Diyā ad dīn b. al Athīr was very much the villain of the piece, and we should not expect him to be popular with ʿImād ad dīn, as it is said to be as the result of his policy that Afdal dismissed so many of his father's counsellors. A comment by Ibn Wāṣil on part of ʿImād ad dīn's account of these years is worthy of note, as showing Ibn Wāṣil's independence of historical judgment, in spite of his close following of other sources. In his account of the year 592, ʿImād ad dīn inveighs against Diyā ad dīn's bad rule, and says that ʿĀdil, then in Egypt, resolved to go to Syria in order to get rid of him. Ibn Wāṣil quotes this, but adds a comment giving his own opinion. ʿImād ad dīn, he thinks, wrote this through fear of offending ʿĀdil, and ʿĀdil's real motive was his desire to rule Damascus.¹ This is extremely probable. A similar comment is given later, in the account of the

1. 1079, pp.462-3.

Tartars (616), where Ibn Wāṣil mentions the fact that the Caliph Nāṣir asked them for help against ʿĀla ad dīn Khawāriṣm Shāh. Ibn al Athīr, he says, dared not be explicit about this, through fear of the Caliph.¹ Ibn Wāṣil elsewhere contrasts his sources.² We may mention also in this connection three comments by him in the *Tarīkh Ṣāliḥī*, where he refuses to accept as credible certain incidents given by his authorities.

None of the possible sources for the years 595-597 seem to have supplied Ibn Wāṣil with his material. Abū Shāma gives a summary of another short treatise by ʿImād ad dīn, called "*Khuṭfat al Bāriq wa ʿUṭfat ash Shāriq*", which³

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1. 1702, f.189a. "Ibn al Athīr mentions that another reason has been given for their invasion, one that should not be put on to paper, and recites the verse, "There came to pass something which should not be mentioned, so think the best and do not enquire about the news." The author of the book says: "Ibn al Athīr is here referring to the report that the Caliph Nāṣir, when Khawāriṣm Shāh attacked him and invaded ʿIrāq, wrote to Jengiz Khān. . encouraging him to attack Khawāriṣm Shāh... and I have heard that he wrote him a letter... Ibn al Athīr is not explicit about this through fear of the Caliph Nāṣir. God knows best if this is true."
 2. E.g., 1079, p.266, different accounts of the distribution by Saladin of the fortune of Nāṣir ad dīn Muḥammad b. Shirkuh of Homs, d.581.
 3. Brit.Mus.Or. 6657, f.92, 118 (a story of Bahrām killing two lions). "I say: The historians are agreed in recording what I have mentioned, and the responsibility is on

contained some of the events between 593 and his death in 597, but Ibn Wāṣil does not quote 'Imād ad dīn in these years, and his text is not sufficiently like that of Abū Shāma to suggest that they were taken from the same work. Ibn al Athīr is quoted very little, and the two other histories which cover this period, the Mir'at az Zaman of Sibṭ b. al Jauzī¹ and Abū Shāma's Supplement to the Kitāb ar Raudatain², are not used by Ibn Wāṣil either for these years or elsewhere.

Much of the remainder of the first volume of the Mufarrij cannot be traced to earlier sources, though Ibn al Athīr is used for events in the Eastern Provinces and

them, for in my opinion it is most improbable. Nevertheless, there would be nothing impossible if God gave one of His creatures double this strength, for verily He is able to do anything." f.212b, the Battle of Ṣiffīn. He gives the number of the slain as 60,000, then says: "I say: I have seen this in certain histories. What I think is that this number is the number of people killed at Ṣiffīn during the whole of his reign."

1. AS.ii.233-234.

2. See C.III.

3. MS Paris, 5852. Kitāb adh Dhail 'alā-r-Raudatain, or Brit.Mus.Supp.555. Or.1538, Al Mudhayyil 'alā-r-Raudatain. The Brit.Mus. MS contains only the first volume, 590-615. The Paris MS is complete, 264 ff. It contains many obituary notices, and gives all events from the point of view of news reaching Damascus. He gives autobiographical details. Its chief value would be for a

especially the long account of the Tartars given under 616. The first quotation from the history of Kamāl ad dīn b. al-ʿAdīm comes in 614. The most interesting material used by Ibn Wāṣil for these years is a collection of letters to and from Manṣūr of Ḥamāh.¹ Most of them are correspondence between him and ʿAdil, and one describes the events in Yemen in 598, when Muʿizz Ismāʿīl b. Tuḡtakīn was murdered. Ibn Wāṣil gives us a good deal of the history of Ḥamāh, and a long account of Manṣūr, part of which is unfortunately lost, and for this he must have used either local tradition, or other sources, possibly Shihāb ad dīn b. abī-d-Damm's history, and Manṣūr's history.²

The letter about Yemen was written to Manṣūr by an official who had gone on pilgrimage in 598. Ibn Wāṣil's accounts of events in Yemen are almost all original and it has not been possible to trace their source. Ibn Wāṣil in his account of 598 refers also to a "reliable source" which he does not name.³

study of the literary and scholastic history of Damascus. It continues until 665. Ibn Wāṣil gives two poems by Abū Shāma which are also found in the Dhail. 1703, f.153 = 5852, f.225a-b. 1703, f.155a = 5852, f.213b.

1. 1079, p.485, 489 (from Zāhir of Aleppo). 1702, f.146a, (Yemen), 148a, 149a-b, 151a.
2. See C.I.
3. See Summary, 569, 577, 593, 599, A.H.

Ibn Wāṣil does not appear to use Kamāl ad dīn's Zubdat al Ḥalab fi Tarīkh Ḥalab before the year 614, when he gives a long quotation from it, and from then until it ends in 641 he uses most of it, either quoting it word for word, or using it for details when he gives a fuller account than that in the Zubdat al Ḥalab. This book was itself a short work, the material for which was extracted by the author from his larger Biographical Dictionary of famous men of his city. It contains no biographical notices, but is simply a narrative of the history of Aleppo from the earliest times. Ibn Wāṣil may use it for details before 614, but he usually gives a fuller account of events in Aleppo than does Kamāl ad dīn before this date. The latter's account of the early years of the Seventh Century is sketchy, and several years are omitted entirely (e.g., 609-611). In particular, Ibn Wāṣil gives us a full account of the death of Zāhir b. Saladin, in 613, and the accession of his son ʿAzīz, and Kamāl ad dīn's is much shorter. From 615 onwards, however, Kamāl ad dīn gives a fuller account, which he breaks off in 641. He himself played no small part in the events he describes, for he was Qādī of Aleppo, and was frequently sent on embassies by ^{Safiyya} ~~Daifa~~ Khātūn (the "Sāhibā of Aleppo"), ʿAzīz and Nāṣir Yūsuf. He died in 660, in Cairo, for he had

left Aleppo before the Tartars took it.¹

This completes the material taken by Ibn Wāsil from earlier sources, with the addition of his account of the wars between Jalāl ad dīn Khawāriṣm Shāh and the Tartars, which he derives from Ibn al Athīr. For the rest, he often quotes his own contemporaries, who had taken part in the events described, the most frequently mentioned being Husām ad dīn b.abī 'Alī.

1. See above, C.III, and the Bibliography. Wuest.Gesch. No. 345.

SUMMARY OF THE MUFFARIJ

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The sources are given in brackets. Where this is not done, the material is Ibn Wāsil's own.

IA. = Ibn al Athīr's Kāmil.

At. = " " Atābeks.

AS. = Abu Shāma's Kitāb ar Raudatain.

Imād = Imād ad dīn's Fath of Erarq.

Bahā = Bahā ad dīn's Life of Saladin.

Imād and Bahā q. AS. or Imād and Bahā q. = Abu Shāma's quotations from Imād ad dīn and Bahā ad dīn in the Kitāb ar Raudatain.

IW. = Ibn Wāsil

SUMMARY OF THE MUFARRIJ AT KURŪB.

Origin of the Ayyūbids. Different theories, including Ibn al Athīr's. (IA.xi.225) Genealogies, including one drawn up up Ḥasan b. Gharīb. (also given by IKh.iv.480.)

Early history of Ayyūb and Shīrkūh. (AS.i.129-130. IA.xi.225.)

pp.1-5.

Aqsunqur, 476-481. (IA.x.83-111. At,18.) A story of the repair of the minaret at Aleppo.

Aqsunqur, 483-485. (IA.x.136, but not all.) Aqsunqur, 485-6. (IA.x.149-151. At,28-30.)

pp.5-15

Zankī, 486-525. (IA.x.453-471. At.30-34)

pp.15-27.

526, Mustarshid defeats him. (IA.x.484-487,) Ibn Munqidh's eyewitness account of the battle. Comment on the reassertion of authority by the Caliphs.

pp.28-29.

527. Mustarshid's campaign. (IA.xi.2-3.) Ibn al Anbārī's account of the murder of Mustarshid, the accession of Rāshid, and the selection of Muqtafī. (Fāriqī, Brit.Mus.MS.Or.5803.ff.164b-166a.) Zankī and others come to help Rāshid. (IA.xi.23.)

pp.30-37.

530. Rāshid's flight. Ibn al Anbārī's account of the taking of the oath of allegiance to Muqtafī. (Fāriqī, loc. cit. ff. 166-7.)

pp. 38-40.

531. Kamāl ad dīn ash Shahrazūrī's account of his embassy to Bardād from Zankī. (IA.xi.28.) Subsequent travels and assassination of Rāshid, 532 (cf. Fāriqī, quoted by Amedroz. IQ.p.261).

Zankī takes Daquqa, attacks Homs. He takes Bārīn, Ma'arra and Kafr Tāb. (IA.xi.33-35). Ibn Wāsil's father tells Mu'azze the story of Zankī's just dealing with the people of Ma'arra, 623 A.H. (also given, 1702 f.247a). Ibn at Athīr gives a different version. (IA.xi.34.) ff. 2a-3b. pp. 40-44.

532. Zankī takes Homs, marries Zumurrud Khātūn. (IA.36.) An invasion by the Emperor is repelled, after he has attacked Aleppo, Athārib, and Shaizar. (IA.xi.34-37. Some details from Kamāl, 676.) Kamāl ad dīn ash Shahrazūrī's account of his embassy to Bagdād to get help. (Also quoted by IA.xi.38, but the wording differs.) Poem on the defeat of the Emperor by Muslim b. Haḍar b. Qasīm al Hamawī. (IA.xi.39.) Zankī receives robes from Muqtafī at Homs.

ff. 3b-6b. pp. 44-48.

533. Zankī retakes Buzā'a and Athārib.

His campaign in the East. (At. 102-103.) Murder of Būrī, in

Damascus. (Ibn Qalānsi ed Amedroz, 268-9 ? from which both Ibn Wāṣil and IA.xi.45 might be taken.) ff.6b-7a. pp.48-50.

Zankī's campaigns, 534-536. His relations with Mas'ūd, 537-538. (IA.xi.48-50. The capture of Ba'albek, 45-46, under 533 AH, contrast Ibn Wāṣil, 534.) ff.7a-9a.pp.50-53.

539. Zankī takes Edessa, then attacks Bīra, but retires on hearing of the murder of his deputy at Mōṣil. 'Alī Kūjak is sent to Mōṣil as deputy. (IA.xi.64-67.) The Franks hand over Bīra to the Lord of Māridīn. (At.126) 'Alī Kūjak's good rule in Mōsil. (cf.At.129) Note on the history of Irbil. f.9a-b.(gap) pp.54-5

541. Zankī attacks Ja'bar. His murder. (IA.xi.71-72. Ibn Munqidh.) pp.57-58.

His character and policy.(IA.xi.72-73.) A song heard in Hamāh causes him to change from tyranny to justice.

Stories about him. (IA.xi.73.At.136-149.AS.i.43, quoted from IA.) pp.58-62. ff.108a-110a.

Nūr ad dīn rules Aleppo, Saïd ad dīn rules Mōṣil. (At. 152-5.) Ayyūb comes to Damascus. (IA.xi.78.) Ibn Munqidh says that Nūr ad dīn exchanges Homs for Hamāh. Ibn al Athīr differ

1. See below, 546 A.H.

An unsuccessful rebellion in Edessa. (At.157-8)

pp.62-65. ff.110a-111b, (gap).

542. Nūr ad dīn takes Artāh. (IA.xi.80.)

p.66.

543. Siege of Damascus by German king. (IA.xi.85-86.)

Death of Shāhanshāh, ancestor of Mansūr, ruler of Ḥamāh at the time of writing.

Two defeats of the Franks. Poem on the second by Ibn al Qaisarānī. (IA.xi.87-89.)

pp.66-68.

544. Death and character of Saif ad dīn. Accession of Quṭb ad dīn Maudūd. He marries Al Khātūn bint Timurtāsh of Māridīn. (At.163-6. IA.xi.91-93.) Comment on her.

Nūr ad dīn takes Sinjar, makes peace with Quṭb ad dīn, Exchanges Sinjar for Ḥoms. (At.170-74.)

He attacks Ḥārim. Poem by Ibn Al Qaisarānī on this. (IA.xi.58-9.) and another poem.

Death of Unur. (IA.xi.96.)

pp.68-73. (f.254 = pp.71-7)

545. Nūr ad dīn takes Apamea. (IA.xi.98.)

546. Jocelin of Tell Bāshir defeats Nūr ad dīn, and is captured later. (IA.xi.101.) Ibn Munqidh's story of the

capture, 545. Ibn ad Dāya is sent to take over Tell Bāshir, etc.

Poem on Jocelin's capture by Ibn al Qaisarānī. (IA.xi.102)

pp.73-74.

547. Nūr ad dīn takes Dalūk. (IA.xi.107.) The Franks take 'Asqalān. (IA.xi.124-125, under 548 AH.) Nūr ad dīn takes Damascus. (IA.xi.130-131, under 549.) He takes Tell Bāshir and Manbij. (IA.xi.132, 549.) This more accurate than Ibn Munqidh's account, 546. (See above.)

551. Nūr ad dīn attacks Hārim (IA.xi.137.)

pp.75-76.

552. An earthquake destroys Shaizar, etc. The Banū Munqidh are killed.

Nūr ad dīn takes possession of Shaizar (IA.xi.144-145.) He takes Ba'albek. (IA.xi.150.) Death of Ad Dubaisī. (At 261.) Nūr ad dīn takes Busrā and Sarkhad.

554. Illness and recovery of Nūr ad dīn. (IA.xi.166-167.)

pp. 77-78.

555. Death and biography of Muqtafī. Accession of Mustanjid.

pp.79-81.

557. Nūr ad dīn attacks Hārim. (IA.xi.187-188.)

558. He is defeated near Ḥiṣn at Akrād. (IA.xi.194-195.)

Poem on this by As'ad al Maṣṣilī. (AS.i.28.)

pp.81-82.

559. Shīrkūh's first visit to Egypt. (IA.xi.196-198.)

pp.83-85.

Poems by 'Umāra.

pp.86-88.f.27a.

Nūr ad dīn takes Ḥārim. (IA.xi.199-200.) Death of Jamāl ad dīn al Isfahānī. (At.226-8. IA.q.AS.p.137.) Nūr ad dīn takes Bānyās. (IA.xi.201-202.)

pp.88-90.ff.27a-28b.

560. Death of Ibn Hubaira. (IA.xi.211-212.) Beginning of a quotation from Shihāb ad dīn, (i.e. ? Ibn abi-d-Damm,) on Ibn Hubaira, (missing from ^{ms.} 1079.)

p.90.f.28b. (gap)

561. Nūr ad dīn takes Ḥiṣn al Munaiṭira. Ibn Shaddād says it was in 562. (IA. and Bahā,q.AS.i.141.)

562. Shīrkūh's second campaign in Egypt. (AS.i.142-145. IA.xi.213-215.)

Nūr ad dīn takes Ṣafītā and 'Araima. Death of Qarā Arslān the Ortuqid of Ḥiṣn Kaifā. (IA.xi.216.)

pp.91-94.

563. Death of 'Alī Kūjak. (IA.xi.218.)

564. Nūr ad dīn takes Ja'bar from Shihāb ad dīn Mālīk al 'Uqailī. (IA.xi.219.)

p.95.

Shīrkūh's third campaign in Egypt. Execution of Shāwir. Shīrkūh becomes 'Ādid's vizier. His manshūr. Poem by 'Imād ad dīn. (IA.xi.220-224. AS.155-7, partly q. from Bahā. ~~add~~ ^{add} ~~except~~ part of the contents of the manshūr.)

pp.96-103, ff.116.29. (gap)

Death of Shīrkūh. Saladin becomes vizier. Accounts by Ibn al Athīr and 'Imād ad dīn, (Barq Shāmī) His manshūr. Poems by 'Imād ad dīn. Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb comes to Egypt. (IA.xi.225-228. AS.i.160-3, partly q. from 'Imād and Bahā.) A plot is discovered, and a riot of the Sūdān quelled. ('Imād q.AS.i.178-180.)

pp.103-9.

Husām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī tells Ibn Wāṣil a story about his father and 'Ādid. (quoted by Abul Maḥāṣin, Paris MS. 1780, f.32b.)

p.110.

565. The Franks attack Damietta. Poem by 'Imād ad dīn. (AS.i.181-2. partly q. from 'Imād and Bahā. IA.xi.231.)

Ayyūb comes to Egypt. (IA.xi.232, Bahā q.183.) Verses by 'Umāra in defence of the Fātimids.

Shihāb ad dīn the Ortuqid of Bīra defeats some Franks near Ba'albek. (IA.xi.232.)

Death of Qutb ad dīn Maudūd. Fakhr ad dīn b. 'Abd al Masīh makes his younger son, Saif ad dīn Ghāzī, ruler in Mōsil, the elder flees to Nūr ad dīn. (IA.xi.233-234.)

pp.111-117.

566. Nūr ad dīn in the Eastern provinces. 'I mād ad dīn al Isfahānī's mission to Bagdād. (IA.xi.238-239. 'Imād q.188.

pp.117-9.

Death of Ibn ad Dāyah. (IA.xi.236, 565 A.H.)

Death and biography of Mustanjid. Further account of Ibn Hubaira, said to differ from that given in the History of Shihāb ad dīn.¹

Accession of Mustaqī, his vizier is 'Adud ad dīn b. Ra'īs-ar-ru'asā.

Nūr ad dīn returns to Syria. (AS.i.188, Bahā q.AS.i.189. AS.i.191.)

Saladin starts Shāfi'ī schools and appoints a Shāfi 'ī Qādī in Egypt. Capture of Aila. ('Imād q.191, IA.xi.240.)

pp.119-122. ff.30a-31a.

567. The khutba is transferred to the 'Abbāsids in Egypt. Death of 'Adid. (IA.xi.241-244.) Comment on the end of the Fātimid Caliphate.

1. See above, 560 A.H. f.28b = p.90.

'Āḍid's farewell to Saladin, different accounts from Ibn al Athīr and Abū Shāmā. (IA,xi.242.AS.i.194.) Treatment of his family and possessions. ('Imād q.AS.i.194.) Dispersal of the royal library. (As.i.200, except a verse and text added by Ibn Wāṣil in comment.)

pp.122-123.ff.31b-32a.

General account of the Fāṭimids and Bāṭinīs.

pp.123-130.ff.32b-36a.

The news of the 'Abbāsīd khutba in Egypt is sent to Bagdād. ('Imād q.AS.i.198-199.) Reception of the news. Robbers are sent for Nūr ad dīn and Saladin. (cf. 'Imād q.AS.i.199.) Verses on the Ayyūbids in Egypt, by 'Arqala. (As.i.200.)

The Franks break their truce, Nūr ad dīn takes 'Arqa, the truce is renewed. (IA.xi.245.)

pp.130-135.ff.36a-38b.

568. Saladin attacks Kerak, sends presents to Nūr ad dīn. ('Imād q. AS.i.206.)

Nūr ad dīn repels a Frankish raid. Poem by 'Imād ad dīn. Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb takes Ibrīm in the Bilād an Nūba. ('Imād q.AS.i.207-8.)

pp.135-8.ff.39b-40a.

Death of Ayyūb. ('Imād and Bahā q. AS.i.209.) His character, he sees his descendants become rulers.

Ibn Wāṣil sees his tomb and that of Shīrkūh in Medīna,
649 AH.

Elegy on Ayyūb by 'Umāra.

pp.138-9, f.40b.

Nūr ad dīn asks for tribute from Egypt. ('Imād q.206.)
He attacks Qiliġ Arslān of Rūm. (IA.xi.257-258.) A descendant
of Qiliġ Arslān still rules there.

Malīh b. Lāwūn of Arman takes Tarsus. Letter to the
Caliph. ('Imād q.215.)

Conquest of the Bilād an Nūba, and of part of the
Maghrib. Reference to the Tarīkh Kabīr.

pp.135-141. ff.41a-42a.

569. Conquest of Yemen by Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb. (IA.xi.
220-221.) Poem by 'Umāra.

Capture of Zabīd, 'Aden, etc. (IA.xi.221-222.) The wife
of the ruler of Zabīd is released.

pp.141-4. ff.42a-43b.

A conspiracy in favour of the Fāṭimids is discovered,
and the leaders, including 'Umāra, are executed. (IA.xi.
'Imād.q.219-220.) Tāj ad dīn b. bint al A'azz tells Ibn Wāṣil
about the dream of one of the conspirators.

Letter to Nūr ad dīn about it. ('Imād and Ibn abī Tāyy
q. AS.i.220-1.)

pp.144-9. ff.44a-46a.

Account of 'Umāra al Yamānī. ('Umāra's book on the vizier
q.AS.i.225-7, except the first comment on his being a Shāfi'ī.
pp.149-151.ff.46a-47b.

Nūr ad-dīn asks Saladin for tribute ('Imād, q.A.S.219.)
His death, after circumcising his son Ṣāliḥ. Poem by
'Imād. ('Imād and Bahā q.227-8. IA.xi.264-267.) Ibn Wāṣil
says that his grave is well known.

His character, stories about him. (At.294-300.)

Story told to Ibn Wāṣil by Muḥ^{ṣayyīn} ad dīn Moh^{ṣayyīn}, grandson
of Nūr ad dīn's vizier Khālīd, about the reduction of taxes.
Khālīd's rescript about it.

569.cont. His buildings, etc. (AT.307-314, except for the
mention of two schools, one Shāfi'ī and one Ḥanafī, and a
hospital in Ḥamāh, by the side of his Mosque on the bank of
the Orontes.) Poems on him. ('Imād q.228,231.)

Events following his death, accession of Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl.
('Imād q. AS.i.230-233. At. 320-321,294-5.)

pp.167-173.ff.57a-60b.

570. The Franks attack Alexandria. A rebellion in
Egypt is quelled. ('Imād and Bahā, q.234-5.) This the last
Fāṭimid rebellion.

pp.173-5.ff.61a-62b.

Saladin goes to Syria. His letter to Shams ad dīn b. al Muqaddam. (Ibn abī Tayy, ^{AS}q. 234.) He takes Damascus. ('Imād q. 239-240.) He takes Homs and Hamāh, attacks Aleppo, and takes Ba'albek. (IA.xi.276-278.) Poem by 'Imād ad dīn. ('Imad q. 247.)

pp.175-182.ff.63a-65b.

The Mōsil army comes to support Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, and is defeated by Saladin. Poem by 'Imād ad dīn. Peace is made. (IA.xi.278-9. 'Imād q.248-9. Ibn abī Tayy.q.250.)

Saladin takes Ba'rīn, gives Hamāh to Shihāb ad dīn Muḥammad b. Takash al Ḥārimī, and Homs to Nāṣir ad dīn Muḥammad b. Shirkūh. (IA.xi.279-280.) Note on the subsequent history of Homs, to 662 AH.

pp.183-5.ff.66a-67a.

571. Saladin makes a truce with the Franks. Poem by 'Imād ad dīn. ('Imād q.252.) Saif ad dīn Ghāzī comes to Aleppo from Mōsil, and is defeated by Saladin. (IA.xi.282-4.) Poem by 'Imād ad dīn. ('Imād q. AS.1.255-6.)

pp.185-9.ff.67b-69b. (gap)

Saladin takes Buzā'a, Manbij, and A'zāz. He attacks Aleppo. (IA.xi.284-6. 'Imād q.256-8.)

pp.190-191.

572. Saladin makes peace, gives A'zaz to Nūr ad dīn's

daughter. (IA.xi.276.)

Mujāhid ad dīn Qā'imāz becomes deputy in Mōṣil. (At.322-)

Saladin attacks Mīsyāf. A Frankish raid is defeated.
(IA.xi.289-290. 'Imād q.261.)

Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb comes to Syria, from Yemen. A letter from him, including verses of Ibn al Munajjim, with 'Imād ad dīn's reply. He is made governor of Damascus. ('Imād q.261-2. Death of Kamāl ad dīn ash Shahrāzūrī. The Qādīs of Damascus during Saladin's reign. ('Imād q.262-3.)

Saladin returns to Egypt, buildings in Cairo. ('Imād q. 268.) These are finished by Kāmil.

He goes to Alexandria, receives envoys from the Eastern provinces. ('Imād q.269-270.)

A rebellion in Shahrāzūr. (IA.xi.290.)

pp.191-197.

573. Saladin is defeated by the Franks at Ramleh. (IA.xi. 292-293. 'Imād and Bahā q.273-4.)

Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl imprisons Kumushtakīn. (IA.xi.294. 'Imād.q. 274-5.) The Franks attack Ḥamāh. Saladin returns to Syria, leaving 'Ādil in Egypt. ('Imād q.275.) Various letters by 'Imād ad dīn and the Qādī Al Fāḍil. (AS.i.275-8.ii.2-3.)

pp.198-205.

574. Various engagements with the Franks. Tūrān Shāh

is given Ba'albek. ('Imād q. AS.ii.3,5-6.IA.xi.183-4.)
Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn b. Shāhanshāh is given Hamāh. ('Imād
q.AS.ii.8.) List of his successors, up to 671 AH. when the
book was written. pp.205-8.

575. The Franks are defeated at Marj 'Uyūn. Poem by
Al Juwainī. Taqī ad dīn b. Shāhanshāh defeats Qilij Arslān of
Rūm. (IA.xi.303. 'Imād q.AS.ii.8-9.)

Hiṣn Baṭṭ-al-Aḥzān captured from the Franks. Poem on
this by Ibn as Sā'atī. Letter by the Qādī Al Fādīl to the
Caliph. (IA.xi.300-302. 'Imād q. AS.ii.11.AS.ii.11-13.)

Farukhshāh is given Ba'albak. (IA.xi.305.) His son Amjad
holds it till 627 AH.

Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb is given Alexandria. (IA.xi.304.)
pp.208-214.

Death of Mustaqī, his character and viziers. Accession
of Nāṣir, his viziers. Eulogy by Amīn ad daula Abul Faṭḥ
Muḥammad b. 'Uḍaid allāh Sibṭ at Taghāwīdhī.
pp.214-218.

Death and Biography of Saif ad dīn Ghāzī. Accession of
'Izz ad dīn Mas'ūd in Mōṣil. (IA.xi.305-306.) Saladin asks
the caliph for Sinjar, etc. 'Imād ad dīn's letter. ('Imād q.1
Ṣadr ad dīn b. Shaikh as shuyūkh comes to Saladin as envoy, a

goes on to Mecca. ('Imād q.19.)

pp.218-221.

Death of Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb. ('Imād q.18.)

Quarrel between Qiliġ Arslān of Rūm, and Nūr ad dīn of
Ḥiṣn Kaifā. (IA.xi.307-308.)

pp.221-223.f.114ab.(gar)

Saladin attacks Ibn Lāwūn of Arman. Poem by Jamāl ad
dīn Abu Ghālib b. Sultān b. al Khaṭṭāb al Maḥḥrī. (IA.xi.308-
309. Bahā and 'Imād q.16-17.)

Saladin returns to Egypt. ('Imād q.18.)

pp.223-4.f.71a.

577, Farukhshāh attacks Kerak. (IA.xi.301.)

Events in Yemen, 571-578 AH., when Tughtakīn goes there.
(Partly from IA.xi.311, and 'Imād q.25-26.)

Death of Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl. His character. 'Izz ad dīn of
Mōṣil comes to Aleppo to succeed him. (At. 331-332)

He exchanges Aleppo for Sinjar with 'Imād ad dīn Zankī. (At.332
Bahā.22.)

Letter by 'Imād ad dīn to the Caliph. Saladin goes to
Alexandria. ('Imād q.23-4.)

pp.225-240.ff.71a-74b.

578. Saladin leaves Egypt. ('Imād q.27-28.) Comment
on the fact that he never returned.

Capture of Aila. Saladin's journey to the Eastern Provinces. ('Imād q.27-30.) He attacks Bīra, takes Raqqā and Naṣībīn (partly 'Imād, q. AS.ii.32.) He attacks Mōṣil (IA.xi.319-321. 'Imād q.32.) Bahā ad dīn b. ash Shaddād's embassy to Bagdād. (Bahā q.33.) Saladin retires, takes Sinjar, and goes to Harrān. (IA.xi.321-322. 'Imād q.33.)

pp.231-7. ff.75a, 77b, 112ab. (ga

Death of Farukhshāh. Shams ad dīn b. al Muqaddam is made deputy in Damascus. Poem by Tāj ad dīn al Kindī on him. (AS.ii.33-34, partly q. from 'Imād.) Note by the author on Tāj ad dīn, and on the history of Ba'albek to the time of Qalāwūn.

A Frankish attack on Aila and the Haramain is defeated. Letter by the Qādī Al Fādīl. (IA.xi.323. 'Imād q.35-6.)

pp.238-241.

Saladin gives Haitham to Nūr ad dīn of Ḥiṣn Kaifā. A coalition against him. He attacks Āmid. ('Imād q.37-9. IA.xi.322-323.)

pp.241-2. ff.78a-79a.

579. Siege and surrender of Āmid. Saladin gives it to Nūr ad dīn of Ḥiṣn Kaifā. (IA.xi.324-325. 'Imād q.40.) who treats the nominal ruler, Maḥmūd b. Aikaldi,¹ well.

1. He was nominally governor there, the real power being in the hands of the Nisānids. Zamboni p.139. Oppenheim has a discussion of them, and of an inscription put up by one of them in the Mosque of Āmid, and he quotes part of this passage. See Beitrage zur Assyriologie, vol VII. I. p. 44-49.

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Poem by Ibn Sanā al Mulk. (AS,ii.43-4.) Letter by the
Qādī Al Fādī, (As,ii,41.) pp.243-5.ff.79ab.142a

Two Moslem victories over the Franks. (IA.xi.326.)
Destruction of A'zāz. (Bahā q.42.)

Saladin gives Sinjar to 'Imād ad dīn Zankī in exchange
for Aleppo. (Bahā and 'Imād q.42-3. IA.xi.327-8.) Comment by
the author, the anger of the populace at this.

Tāj al mulūk Būrī b. Ayyūb dies at Aleppo. (IA.xi.328.)
His character, verses.

Poems on the taking of Alepph, by Muhyī ad dīn b. Zakī
ad dīn, (AS.ii.42.) and Ibn Sanā al Mulk.

pp.246-9.ff.143a-144b.

Saladin takes Hārim from the Nūrid governor, ('Imād and
Bahā q. AS.ii.46-7. IA.xi.328-9.) whom he afterwards releases

He appoints officials in Aleppo, leaves his son Zāhir
there and goes to Damascus. ('Imād q.48, Bahā q.50.)

A raid on Kerak etc. (Bahā and 'Imād q.50-51.)

Taqī ad dīn b. Shāhanshāh made deputy in Egypt, 'Adil
in Aleppo. (AS.ii.51-53, partly q. 'Imād.)

pp.249-252.ff.145a-b.80 a-b.

'Izz ad dīn of Mōsil imprisons Mujāhid ad dīn Qā'imāz.
Unsuccessful negotiations between him and Saladin. (IA.xi.

329-330. Bahā q.53. 'Imād q.54.) pp.252-3.ff.81a-b.

580. Saladin is attacking Kerak, but is unsuccessful. He returns to Damascus. Letter by 'Imād ad dīn. ('Imād and Bahā q.54-56.IA.xi.333-4.) Poem by Ibn Sanā al Mulk.
pp.254-7.ff.81b.(Gap)

Sadr ad dīn b. Shaikh as shuyūkh dies after coming on an embassy to Damascus. ('Imād q.AS.ii.56-7.IA.xi.335.)

Saladin sets out for the Eastern provinces. Death of Qutb ad dīn Īlghāzī the Ortuqid. (Bahā and 'Imād q.60,63. IA.xi.336.)

581. Saladin goes to Mōṣil by Ḥarrān and Rās al Ain. Siege of Mōṣil. ('Imād and Bahā q.61-62.IA.xi.336-8.) He goes to Akhlāt, and on the death of Nūr ad dīn of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, he takes Mayyāfāriqīn, and makes Ḥusām ad dīn Sunqur al Khilātī governor. ('Imād and Bahā.q.AS.ii.63-64.)

He returns to Mōṣil, but falls ill and goes to Ḥarrān. His illness and recovery. ('Imād and Bahā q.64-66.IA.xi.338, 340-341.)

Death of Nāṣir ad dīn Muḥammad b. Shīrkūh. His son Mujāhid Shīrkūh succeeds him in Ḥoms. ('Imād q.67.IA.xi.341.)
Note on its history until 662 AH.

Letter from Saladin to Mujāhid, refers to Najm ad dīn

b. Sharaf ad dīn b. abī 'Asrūn. ('Imād q.68.) The latter is later Qādī of Hamāh and dies there.

Saladin's division of Ibn Shīrkūh's fortune. ('Imād q. AS.ii.69 IA.xi.341.) pp.257-266.

582. Saladin returns to Damascus, where his son Afḍal joins him. 'Ādil decides to go to Egypt as Atābek of 'Azīz b. Saladin. Zāhir b. Saladin becomes deputy in Aleppo. ('Imād q. AS.ii.69-70. IA.xi.344-6.) Note on the history of Aleppo until the time of Baibars.

Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn threatens to go to the Maghrib, but returns to Syria. ('Imād q.70.)

Death of Bahlawān. ('Imād q.73, IA.xi.346-7.) Rebellion in Rāwandān. ('Imād q.74.) pp.266-270.

583. Saladin raids Kerak, gathers forces, takes the town of Tiberias. Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. (Abridged from IA.xi.349-354. 'Imād q. AS.ii.75-8. Bahā, q. AS.ii.80-81.)

f.82b.10ab. pp.271-5. (one folio is missing between 82 and 10, = pp.272-3.)

Eulogy of Saladin, Nūr ad dīn and Baibars, as defenders of Islām.

Saladin's treatment of his prisoners, he kills ~~Arnold~~ ^{Reynald}

of Kerak, takes the citadel of Tiberias; story of his oath to kill Arnold. (abridged from Bahā q.AS.ii.81. 'Imād.q.AS.ii. 79-80.) Ode on the Taking of Tiberias by As Sā'atī. (AS.ii. 79-80.)

ff.11a-13a. pp.276-280.

Capture of Acca, Majdal, etc. and Nāblūs. Letter to the Caliph, composed by 'Imād. Capture of Tabnīn, Sidon, and Beirūt. The Franks fortify Tyre. Capture of 'Asqalān. (IA.xi.355-360. 'Imād q.ÄS.ii.87-91.) 'Asqalān held by the Franks since 548. (Bahā.q.91.) Capture of Gaza, 'Azīz and the fleet come from Egypt. ('Imād q.91-2)

ff.13a-17a. pp.280-6.

Siege and surrender of Jerusalem. Cleansing of the Mosque al Aqsā. (IA.xi.361-366, with details from 'Imād q. 93-96, all except ff.17b ll.4-7, comment on the Christian Faith.) The first Khutba in Jerusalem. ('Imād q.110-112, text, without the details of the service given by Ibn Wāṣil.) Nūr ad dīn's pulpit put in the Mosque al Aqsā, cleansing of the Ḥarām ash sharīf. ('Imād q.112-4.)

ff.17b-24a. pp.287-297.

Officials appointed in the Mosque al Aqsā and the Qubbat aṣ Ṣakhrā. The Church of St. Anne is endowed as a Shāfi'ī School.

Saladin decides not to destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. ('Imād q.114-5.) He later makes the Franks pay to go in. Description by Ibn Wāṣil of the Holy Fire. A story told him about a patriarch paying in order that its secret might not be exposed.

ff.24a-25a. pp.297-9.

583.cont. Poems eulogising Saladin on the taking of Jerusalem by Al Jawānī. (AS.ii.105.) As Sā'atī, (AS.ii.106.) Abul Qāsim Hibat allāh b. Sanā al Mulk, and Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn. More poems by the latter. Note by Ibn Wāṣil on the reasons for Saladin's affection for him.

ff.25a-26b, (gap) pp.300-303.

Letters written by aḥ Qādī al Fāḍil to the Caliph, and by 'Imād to Tughtakīn. (AS.ii.99-101.)

The siege of Tyre. Saladin retires, goes to Acca, hears of a reverse at Kaukab. Ambassadors arrive with congratulation complaint by the Caliph. Shams ad dīn b.al Muqaddam killed at 'Arafāt. (IA.xi.366-371. 'Imād q.119-123.)

pp.303-308.

584. Saladin fails to take Kaukab, receives various envoys. (IA.xii.2.) Decides to repair the fortifications of Acca, goes to Damascus. ('Imād q.AS.ii.124.) pp.312-4.

Campaign in the territory of Antioch. Capture of Anḥār-^{hādhiyya}tūs, Jabala and Laodicea. Letter to Tuḡtakīn about this. An interview with a Sicilian envoy. (IA.xii.2-5. 'Imād and Bahā q.126-9.)

Capture of Ṣahyūn. Saladin gives it to Mankubars b. Khimārtakīn. (Bahā q.129.) His character. It is held by his son and grandson till 671.

Capture of Bakās, Shughr, and Sarmāniyya. The first two are given to Ghars ad dīn Qiliḡ. (IA.xii.6-7. 'Imād and Bahā q.130.) Later history of his three sons.

Capture of Barziyya, Darbasāk, and Baghrās. An eight months' truce. Saladin returns to Damascus, via Aleppo and Ḥamāh. (IA.xii.7-12. 'Imād and Bahā q.130-134.)

pp.314-325. f.83ab.

Capture of Kerak, Shaubak, Ṣafad, and Kaukab. (IA.xii.12-14. 'Imād ad dīn's letter to the Caliph about this. Al Qādī al Fādīl goes to Egypt. Failure of a Shī'a rebellion there. Saladin goes to Jerusalem, 'Asqalān and Acca. ('Imād and Bahā q.137-8.

pp.325-329. ff.83b-86a.

585. Saladin receives an embassy from the Caliph, announcing that the future Caliph Zāhir is his heir. He sends back gifts. ('Imād, Bahā and Ibn al Qādisī, q.AS.ii.138-9.

Note by Ibn Wāṣil on the character of Zāhir, reasons for his later deposition and reinstatement as heir.

ff.86a-87a. pp.330/31.

Siege of Shaqīf Arnūn. The Franks prepare to attack Acca. Saladin goes there. Three engagements. (IA,xii.pp.16-23. Bahā q.AS.ii.139-144, also Bahā ed. Cairo, p.85-86. 'Imād Faṭḥ, ed. Landberg pl87.)

ff.87a-89.70.115 (gap.one folio missing). pp.331-339.

Battle of Marj 'Akkā. (Bahā and 'Imād q.AS.ii.144-147.) Account of Ibn Rawāḥa. (partly from 'Imād, Barq and Faṭḥ, q. AS.ii.147.)

ff.90a-92a. pp.339-343.

The siege of Acca continues. (IA.xii.25. Bahā and 'Imād q. AS.ii.146-150.)

ff.92b-95a.pp.344-349.

586. The siege of Acca continues. Arrival of the Moslem armies, and of an envoy from the Caliph. Three towers are burnt. ('Imād and Bahā, q.151-154.) The man who did it is given a village near Damascus.

ff.95b-97b. pp.349-353.

The King of Germany comes to Constantinople, dies in Asia Minor. Fate of his army. (Partly from 'Imād and Bahā q.156-7, and IA.xii.p.30-32, but not all quoted from any of these.)

ff.97b-100b. pp.354-358.

Sickness at Acca. Arrival of Count Harry. (Bahā and 'Imād q.157-9.) Negotiations with Constantinople. (Bahā q.160) Contents of a letter sent to Saladin from there.

ff.101a-102b. pp.359-362.

More fighting at Acca. ('Imād and Bahā q.160-164.) Death

of Zain ad dīn Yūsuf of Irbil. More fighting. (Bahā and 'Imād q. AS.ii.164-181.) Other events of this year. ('Imād q.181-2. ff.102b-107b (gap). pp.362-374.

587. The siege of Acca continues. Arrival of the King of England, also of armies from the Eastern Provinces. Negotiation, followed by the surrender of Acca. ('Imād and Bahā q.AS.ii.184-188.)

C.p.375-382.

Events after the capture of Antioch. Saladin's embassy to the Maghrib. Battle of Arsūf. Destruction of 'Asqalān. ('Imād and Bahā q.188-192.) The Franks repair the walls of Jaffa.

p.383-389. f.124a.

Further negotiations with the Franks. Conquests of Muẓaffar in the Eastern Provinces. His death. ('Imād and Bahā q.192-194.) His tomb in Ḥamāh. Manṣūr founds a Shāf'ī school by it. His character.

124a-126b. pp.389-392.

Death of Ḥusām ad dīn b. Lājīn, and Amīn ad dīn Abul Qāsim Qādī of Ḥamāh. (AS.ii.195, partly q. from 'Imād.) His character.

Manṣūr receives Ḥamāh, and 'Ādil the Eastern Provinces, 588. ('Imād and Bahā, q.194, 197.) Afḍal returns to Saladin.

Manṣūr joins Saladin. (Bahā q.202, under 588.)

'Izz ad dīn of Mōṣil attacks Al Jazīra.

f.126b-128a. p.393-395.

588. Skirmishes near 'Asqalān. ('Imād q.196.) Murder of the Marquis of Tyre. ('Imād, Faṭḥ, ed. Landberg.p.420-422, partly q.AS.ii.196.) The Franks capture Dārūm, surprise and Egyptian caravan, prepare to attack Jerusalem, but retire to Ramleh. ('Imād and Bahā q.196-199.)

ff.128b-131b. (gap) pp.396-400.

Negotiations. Saladin nearly takes Jaffa. Further negotiations ending in a truce. Poem by As Sā'atī on this. Many Franks come to Jerusalem as pilgrims (As.ii.199-204, q.from 'Imād, Bahā, and As-Sā'atī.)

pp.401-411.

Saladin goes to Jerusalem, increases the endowment of his Madrasa there. (Bahā and 'Imād q.205.) Note on the history of this Madrasa, originally a Church and said to be the grave of St. Anne.

Further endowments. Bahā ad dīn is made Qādī of Jerusalem. ('Imād q.205-6.)

p.411.

Saladin goes to Damascus. (Bahā and 'Imād q.207-8.)

Death of Qiliġ Arslān of Rūm. ('Imād Faṭḥ, ed. Landberg. p.451-2.) Note on the later history of the family, up to the time of writing, when Mu'in ad dīn Barwānah is ruling.

p.412-416.

589. Saladin summons Bahā ad dīn, meets the returning pilgrimage, including a son of Tughtakīn. (Bahā q.212.) Note by the author, this was probably Mu'izz Isma'īl.

Illness, death and funeral of Saladin. (Bahā and 'Imād q. 212-214.)

pp.416-422.

His age and family. His one daughter later marries Kāmil.

His biography. ('Imād and Bahā q.217-224. 'Imād Faṭḥ ed. Landberg. p.455.)

pp.423-430.

(Abulf.IV.132-140.)

589,cont. Afḍal succeeds in Syria, 'Azīz in Egypt, 'Ādil in the East,etc. Afḍal's embassy to the Caliph. Letters written by 'Imād ad dīn.¹ Afḍal sends Bahā ad dīn to Aleppo. Note by the author, saying that he attended Bahā ad dīn's school,627.

Diyā ad dīn b. al Athīr becomes Afḍal's vizier. Note on him and his brothers.

His advice causes Saladin's consellers to leave, including 'Imād ad dīn. Beginning of the quarrel between Afḍal and 'Azīz.

Events in the East. Death of 'Izz ad dīn of Mōṣil, succession of Nūr ad dīn.

pp.431-443.

1. Cf. 'Imād q. AS.ii.224-5 and the chapter on Sources; this and other passages in the next few years probably come from 'Imād ad dīn's Al 'Utbā wal 'Uqbā.

590. 'Azīz's first ~~attack~~ on Damascus. He marries 'Ādil's daughter, and returns to Egypt.

pp.444-452. f.113a.

591. 'Azīz again comes to Syria, but returns when deserted by the Asadī emirs. Afdal and 'Ādil go to Egypt, come to an agreement with 'Azīz, and Afdal returns to Syria.

(Abulf IV.154-156.)

pp.453-461. f.113b (gap~)

592. Saladin's coffin put in its tomb. 'Ādil comes to Syria, ostensibly to get rid of Diyā ad dīn b. al Athīr. This is 'Imād ad dīn's account. Note by the Author, his real reason is his desire to take Damascus.

Embassy from Aleppo to Egypt.

'Ādil and 'Azīz take Damascus. Fate of Diyā ad dīn b. al Athīr. Afdal goes to Sarkhad. His complaint to the Caliph.

(Abulf IV.156-160.)

pp.462-470.

593. Zāhir takes Aḡzāz. Bahā ad dīn leaves Egypt. The Khutba in Aleppo is made in 'Azīz's name.

A Frankish invasion. Beirūt is fortified.

Death of Tughtakīn. Poem eulogizing him by Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain. Succession of Mu'izz Ismā'īl. His character.

f.132ab. pp.470-471.

594. The Franks take Beirūt. 'Ādil takes Jaffa. Note on the four captures of Jaffa, the last by Baibars, 660.

The Franks attack Tabnīn, but retire after arrival of 'Azīz. Poem by Ibn Sanā al mulk, on his return to Egypt. Truce with the Franks.

Death of 'Imād ad dīn of Sinjar. His son Quṭb ad dīn loses and regains Naṣībīn. 'Ādil comes to the Eastern Provinces and attacks Māridīn.

Death of Ghars ad dīn Qiliġ an Nūrī. Zāhir takes Shughr, Bakās, Shaqīf and Darkūsh from his two sons.

(Abulf IV.162-166.) ff.132b-135a. pp.471-475.

595. Death of 'Azīz. His biography.

His son Manṣūr succeeds. Events leading up to Afḍal's appointment as his Atābek. (IA.xii.91-92.) Others give a different account. (1079 abbreviates this.)

Afḍal comes to Egypt. He later returns, to attack Damascus. 'Ādil reaches Damascus from Māridīn just before Afḍal does. He retires, but renews the siege when Zāhir comes to help him. (1079 abbreviates this.)

(Maq. Blochet. 249-256.)

Manṣūr of Ḥamāh takes Bārīn. (1079 abbreviates this.)

Kāmil is driven away from Māridīn by Nūr ad dīn of Mōṣil.

Death of Mujāhid ad dīn Qā'imāz. (IA.xii.101.)

(Abulf IV.168-174.)

pp.476-481. f.135b-141b.

596. The siege of Damascus continues. Zāhir and Afḍal retire. 'Ādil goes to Egypt, takes Cairo from Afḍal, and deposes Manṣūr b. 'Azīz. (IA.xii.102-3. quoted for two details which differ from the account IW is giving.)

Ḍiyā ad dīn b. al Athīr flees from Cairo. Letter by him, seen by Ibn Wāṣil.

Kāmil is made deputy of 'Ādil in Egypt.

Manṣūr sends an envoy to 'Ādil. Story of his reply told to Ibn Wāṣil. Manṣūr marries 'Ādil's daughter, 'Iṣmat ad dīn Malika Khātūn. He gives 'Izz ad dīn b. al Muqaddam Manbij and Qal'at Najm instead of Bārīn.

The Khutba in Aleppo is made ^{for} to 'Ādil.

(Abulf.IV.178-184.)

pp.481-486.

(Maq. Blochet p.256-270.)

597. Malik Aḥmad Najm ad dīn Ayyūb b. 'Ādil refuses to give Afḍal Mayyāfāriqīn, but he obtains Sumaisāt, etc. (IA.xii.103.) Others say he had Mayyāfāriqīn, not Sumaisāt.

Negotiations between Zāhir, Afḍal, and the Egyptian emirs.

Death of 'Izz ad dīn b. al Muqaddam, and succession of his brother Shams ad dīn. Zāhir takes Manbij and Qal'at Najm from him. Zāhir's letter to Manṣūr, asking his help against 'Ādil. Manṣūr refuses. Zāhir takes Kafr Tāb, fails to take Apamea. He attacks Ḥamāh.

Zāhir and Afḍal besiege Mu'azzam b. 'Ādil in Damascus.

Nūr ad dīn of Mōṣil attacks Ḥarrān (IA.xii.110-111.)

Famine in Egypt. (IA.xii.112.)

Death of 'Imād ad dīn al Isḡahānī.

(Abulf.IV.184-190.)

pp.487-493.

598. Zāhir and Afdal retire. 'Ādil comes to Damascus.

Poem praising his vizier Ṣafī ad dīn 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī b.

Shakr, by Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain.

Zāhir takes Manbij and Apamea. 'Ādil is entertained by Manṣūr at Ḥamāh. Agreement, Zāhir is to give back Apamea, etc. to Shams ad dīn b. al Muqaddam, and to give Ma'arra to Manṣūr.

Ashraf b. 'Ādil goes to Ḥarrān.

Death of Muḥyī ad dīn b. Zakī ad dīn, Qāḍī of Damascus.

(Abulf.IV.194-6.)

pp.493-6.

(Maq. Blochet. p.271-275.)

599. Zāhir sends troops to help against a Sicilian attack on Egypt.

Death of Falak ad dīn Malik Mubārīz, 'Ādil's half brother.

Events in Yemen. A letter to Manṣūr describes the murder of Mu'izz Ismā'īl b. Tuḡtakīn, 598. Reign of Malik Nāṣir, according to a reliable source Mu'izz's brother, others say his son. His mother marries Sulāimān Shāh b. Shāhanshāh b. Muẓaffar Taqī ad dīn.

'Ādil orders an attack on Māridīn. (IA.xii.84.)

Ibn Lāwun attacks Antioch. Some Franks come to Acca.

‘Ādil sends Maṣṣūr b. ‘Azīz from Egypt to Aleppo. He repairs the outer wall of Damascus.

Maṣṣūr's victories over the Franks at Bārīn. Correspondence between Maṣṣūr, ‘Ādil, and Ṣafī ad dīn b. Shahr. He defeats the Franks from Ḥiṣn al Akrād and Tripoli, receives an embassy from the Templars. Birth of Muṣaffar Taqī ad dīn Maḥmūd. Maṣṣūr defeats the Templars.

(Abulf. IV. 198-204.)

pp. 496-505. ff. 146a-151a.

(Maq. Blochet. 275-279.)

600. Truce between Maṣṣūr and the Franks. Ibn Lāwun attacks Antioch.

Ashraf and Qutb ad dīn of Sinjar defeat Nūr ad dīn of Mōṣil. (IA. xii. 126-7.) Eulogy of Ashraf by Jamāl ad dīn ‘Alī b. al Banīyya al Miṣrī. Peace is made.

‘Ādil attacks the Franks near Tyre. They take Constantinople, and keep it till 660.

Death of Rukn ad dīn b. Qilij Arslān of Rūm, and accession of his son Qilij Arslān.

A Frankish fleet lands in Egypt. An earthquake. (IA. xii. 130.)

Birth of Nāṣir Qilij Arslān b. Maṣṣūr of Ḥamāh.

(Abulf. IV. 206-210.)

pp. 505-509. ff. 151b-153b.

(Maq. Blochet. 279-284.)

601. 'Ādil makes a truce with the Franks of Acca, then goes to Egypt.

The Franks make a raid on Ḥamāh. Story of a soldier who escaped from them. Truce. Manṣūr visits Egypt. The Franks raid Ḥoms.

Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād resigns the post of Qādī in Aleppo, but is restored. Zāhir attacks Marqab.

Gḥḥāth ad dīn Kaikhusrū b. Qiliḡ Arslān overthrows his nephew Qiliḡ Arslān in Rūm. (IA.xii.131.)

Birth of Ṣālīḡ Aḡmad b. Zāhir. The Franks raid Jabala, etc. Murder of Kāmil's vizier, Ibn Qādī Dārā. Mujāhid of Ḥoms raids Ḥiṣn al Akrād.

The Caliph Nāṣir makes his younger son his heir instead of Abū Naṣr, (later the Caliph Zāhir.) (IA.xii.134-5.)

(Abulf.IV.212.)

pp.509-512. ff.153b-155b.

(Maq.Blocket.284-6.)

602. Zāhir repels a raid by Ibn Lāwun.

603. 'Ādil besieges Tripoli.

(Maq.Bloch.287.)

pp.512-513. ff.156a-157b.

604. Aḡḡad Najm ad dīn b. 'Ādil takes Khilāt. (IA.xii.181-2)

The Caliph Nāṣir dismisses his vizier Naṣīr ad dīn Naṣīr b. 'Alī al Mahdī. (IA.xii.182-3.) He sends robes of honour to 'Ādil. Reception of his envoys in Aleppo and Damascus.

Repair of the towers of Damascus.

(Abulf. IV.220-224.)

pp.514-18. f.157a-159b.

(Maq. Blochet 2⁸8-291.)

605. The Kurj attack Arjīsh, near Khilāt. (IA.xii.184.)

Ashraf is entertained by Zāhir on his way to the Eastern Provinces. ~~Pome~~^{Pome} by Sharaf ad dīn Rājih al Hillī. Zāhir helps Kaikhusrū in an attack on Ibn Lāwun.

Murder of 'Izz ad dīn Sinjar Shāh, ~~xxxx~~ of Al Jazīra.

Accession of his son Mu'izz ad dīn Maḥmūd. (IA.xii.185-6.)

(Abulf.IV.230-236.)

pp.518-522. ff.159b-161b.

606. 'Ādil(s campaign in the Eastern Provinces, siege of Sinjar. (partly from IA.xii.187-8.)

Death of Malik Mu'ayyid Najm ad dīn Mas'ūd b. Saladin.

'Ādil goes to Ḥarrān, Ṣafī ad dīn b. Shagr his vizier tries to escape.

(Abulf.IV.236-238.)

pp. 522-527. f.162a-165b.

(Maq. Blochet.292-5.)

607. 'Ādil returns to Damascus. The Kurj besiege Khilāt

Death and character of Nūr ad dīn of Mōṣil. Accession of Qāhir. Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' is his Atābek. (At.361-369.)

The Caliph Nāṣir founds the Futūwwa.

'Ādil returns to Egypt. Auḥad Najm ad dīn dies, Ashraf

- succeeds in Khilāṭ.

(Abulf. IV. 242-4.)

p. 528-531. ff. 165b-168a.

(Maq. Blochet. 295-8.)

608. Imprisonment and death of 'Izz ad dīn Usāma.

A Bāṭinī murders Qatāda, ruler of Mecca. Rabī'a Khātūn bint Ayyūb persuades his son to allow the 'Irāqī pilgrims to enter Mecca. Jamāl ad dīn Ḥasan Alkiyā, ruler of Alamūt, and his subjects become orthodox, so also do the Syrian Bāṭinīs.

'Ādil goes to Syria. Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād arranges a wedding between Zāhir and Ṣafīyya Khātūn bint 'Ādil.

609. The wedding, and the arrival of the princess at Aleppo. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn Rājih al Hilli.

'Ādil builds a fortress on the Jabal Ṭūr. Poems by Kamāl ad dīn al Balīyya al Miṣrī.

Kaikāwūs of Rūm imprisons his brother Kaiqubādh.

(Abulf. IV. 246-8)

pp. 531-535. ff. 168a-171a.

(Maq. Blochet, 299-³⁰¹~~351~~.)

610. Kaikāwūs of Rūm defeats and kills his uncle Ṭughril Shāh of Arzan ar Rūm. Contrast between the way in which the Seljūqs and the Ayyūbids treated each other.

A Bāṭinī murders the son of the Prince of Antioch.

Zāhir conciliates 'Ādil.

Death of Fāris ad dīn Maimūn at Qaṣrī.

Birth of 'Azīz, son of Zāhir and Ṣafīyya Khātūn. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn Rājih.

(Abulf.IV.248-250.)

pp.536-538¹ ff.171a-172a.

(Maq. Blochet. 302-4.)

611. Mansūr b. 'Azīz b. Saladin comes to Aleppo.

The Franks threaten Hamāh and Homs. They attack the Bāṭinī fortress of Al Khawwābī, but retire as Zāhir of Aleppo advances.

Death of Badr ad dīn Dildarim of Tall Bāshir, and of Taqī ad dīn 'Alī al Harawī. Account of the latter.

Capture of Al Yashkarī, (Lascar),¹ by Kaikāwūs of Rūm.

'Ādil returns to Egypt.

(Abulf.IV.252-254.)

pp.538-539. ff.172b-173b.

(Maq. Blochet. 305-6.)

612. Conquest of Yemen by Mas'ūd b. Kāmil. The Caliph Nāṣir's book, "Rūh al 'Arifīn," is read throughout Syria. Ibn Wāṣil hears it in 618.

The Franks attack Al Khawwābī.

Death of the heir of the Caliph Nāṣir, Abul Ḥasan 'Alī. (IA, xii. 201.) Poems on him.

The Franks make peace with ^{the Bāṭinīs of} Al Khawwābī.

An envoy from the Caliph reads the "Rūh al 'Arifīn" in

1. Zambaur, p. 231.

Aleppo.

The Franks take Anṭāliya in the Bilād ^{Ar Rūm} ~~Ankūn~~, but lose it again. Ibn Lāwun takes Antioch in Syria.

(Maq.Blochet.306-8. Abulf IV.254-256.)

pp.539-543. ff.173b-175b.

613. A proposed alliance between Zāhir and Kaikāwūs. Zāhir sends Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād to Egypt. (cf. Kamāl, Blochet, 149-150.) Quotation from Bahā ad dīn. Death of Zāhir. His biography. Poems on him by Sharaf ad dīn Rājih al Hilli and Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain. Accession of 'Aziz b. Zāhir; quotation from Bahā ad dīn. Discussions as to who should rule during his minority, ending in Shihāb ad dīn Tugh-rīl being given the power as his Atābek.

(Maq.Blochet.310-311. Abulf IV.258-260.)

pp.543-554. ff.176a-182a.

614. An army of Franks lands at Acca. 'Ādil comes to meet them. They attack Tyre. (IA.xii.208-210.)

(Maq.Blochet. 311-314. Abulf IV.260-262.)

pp.554-555. ff.182b-183b.(gap)

615. The Franks attack Damietta. (IA.xii.210-211 with additions.)

Death of Qāhir 'Izzad dīn of Mōṣil. Badr ad dīn Lu'lu'

rules as atābek of his son Nūr ad dīn. (IA.xii.217-218.)

Kaikāwūs and Afdal come to attack Aleppo. (IA.xii.227-228.) Ashraf comes to help Shihāb ad dīn Tughrīl. Kamāl ad dīn's account of these events. (Kamal. Blochet p.156.)

Flight of Kaikāwūs. (IA.xii.229.) Ashraf remains in Aleppo. (Kamāl Blochet 158-9.)

Death of 'Ādil near Acca. (IA.xii.229-230.) His character. Eulogy of him and his sons by Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain. List of his 16 sons. His death is concealed until his body has been taken to Damascus.

The Franks capture a tower at the mouth of the Nile. Ibn Mashtūb attempts to set up Malik Fā'iz b. 'Ādil as Sultān instead of Kāmil, who retires from opposite the Franks. Mu'azzam b. 'Ādil comes to Egypt. (IA.xii.211-212.) Ibn Mashtūb and Fā'iz leave Egypt and each goes to Ḥamāh.

The Franks surround Damietta. (IA.xii.212.) Kāmil's only means of communication with it is a peasant from Ḥamāh, who rose high in his service, and used to swim across the Nile to Damietta.

'Imād ad dīn Zankī b. Nūr ad dīn takes the Bilād al Hakkāriyya. Alliance against Badr ad dīn Lu'lu'. (IA.xii. 218-219.)

(Maq. Blochet. 314-326. Abulf. IV. 262-274.)

616. Ashraf sends certain emirs who were plotting against him in Aleppo to help Kāmil against the Franks.

Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' defeats 'Imād ad dīn Zankī. Nūr ad dīn b. 'Izz ad dīn of Mōṣil dies, Badr ad dīn sets up his brother Nāṣir ad dīn. Muẓaffar ad dīn of Irbil defeats Badr ad dīn Lu'lu'. (IA.xii.221-223.)

Ibn Mashtūb leaves Ḥamāh for the Eastern provinces, accompanied by the Qāḍī Najm ad dīn b. abī 'Aṣrūn.

Ashraf captures him, and gives him Rās^{al} Ain. (Kamāl. Blochet, 161-162.)

Death of Kaikawūs of Rūm, and succession of his brother Kaiqubādh. Death of Quṭb ad dīn of Sinjar. (IA.xii.231,232.)

Mu'azzam destroys the fortifications of Jerusalem. The Franks take Damietta. Kāmil builds Manṣūra.

(Maq.Blochet. 326-332. Abulf.IV.274-278.)

pp.571-577. ff.184a-187a.

2 | Account of the Tartars and their wars with Alā ad dīn and Jalāl ad dīn Khawāriṣm Shāh. (IA.xii.233-259, with a few comments by the author.)

pp.578-595. ff.187a-199a.

Manṣūr of Ḥamāh has an oath taken to his son Muẓaffar as heir, and sends him to help Kāmil against the Franks. Ibn Wāṣil's father writes the copy of the oath. Death of Manṣūr's wife, Malika Khātūn bint 'Ādil. Her funeral. Poem by Manṣūr.

(Abulf.IV.282-284.)

pp.595-597. f.199a-200b.

617. Ibn Mashtūb rebels against Ashraf, and is captured. Ashraf takes Sinjar. (Kamāl, Blochet, 162. IA.xii.224-5.) pp.598-600. ff.201a-202b.

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End of an account of Mansūr of Ḥamāh. His younger son Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān succeeds, the elder son, Muḡaffar, being in Egypt. Note on Shihāb ad dīn b. al Quṭb and his family.

Ashraf gives his brother Muḡaffar Ghāzī Khilāṭ. (IA.xii.260.)

Death of Ṣadr ad dīn abul Ḥasan Muḡammad b. 'Umar Shaikh as ^{Sk}Ṣuyūkh. (IA.xii.261.)

(Abulf.IV.286-294. Maq. Blochet 332-336.)

ff.203a-207a.

618. Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān negotiates with Ashraf to get protection if he accompanies him to Egypt.

Mu'azzam and Ashraf go to Egypt. Negotiations with the Franks. Recapture of Damietta. (IA.xii.213-216.) Story about the Moslem governor appointed there. Poems on its recapture. (Maq. Blochet. 336-341. Abulf. IV.302-306.)

ff. 207a-211b.

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619, (continued.) Fighting between the Kurj and the Qafjāq. Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' takes Shūsh. The death of Nāṣir

ad dīn b. 'Izz ad dīn of Mōṣil leave Badr ad dīn independent.
(IA.xii.264-268, except comments on Rabī'a Khātūn bint Ayyūb,
and Badr ad dīn.)

Ashraf visits Kāmil in Egypt.

Shihāb ad dīn Ṭughrīl gives Shuḡhr and Bakās, etc. to
Zāhir's son, Ṣālih Ahmad. (Kamāl, Blochet. 164-165.)

Mu'aẓẓam besieges Ḥamāh, then goes to Ma'arra, where Ibn
Wāṣil's father is Qādī. Note on the Qādīs of Ḥamāh at this
time. Negotiations with Aleppo, (Kamāl Blochet, p.165.) and
between Mu'aẓẓam and Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān.

Death of Qat'āda of Mecca, 618. Mas'ūd b. Kāmil of Yemen
captures it. (IA.xii.261-263, 268-9.)

(Maq. Blochet. 342-4. Abulf IV.308-314.)

ff.212a-218a.

620. Mu'aẓẓam is obliged by pressure from Aleppo and
Egypt to leave Ḥamāh. (Kamāl, Blochet.p.165-166.) Peace
between him and Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān. Muẓaffar b. Maṣṣūr of
Ḥamāh is given Salamīyya.

Ashraf comes to Aleppo. (Kamāl, Blochet, p.166-167,)

Fighting with the Kurj near Khilāt, etc. (IA.xii.269-271.)
(Maq. Blochet. 344-346. Abulf.314-320.)

ff.218a-221.a.

621. Campaigns of the Tartars and of Ḥhiyāth ad dīn b.

21 Khawārism Shāh. Muẓaffar ^GShāhī rebels against Ashraf in Khilāṭ, is defeated, and is given Mayyāfāriqīn. (IA.xii.272-275.

Ibn Wāṣil's father is invited by Mu'azzam to Damascus, and appointed head of Saladin's school in Jerusalem.

Mu'azzam sends Nāṣir Dā'ūd to stay with Rabī'a Khātūn in Irbil.

(Abulf.IV.320-324.)

ff. 221a-224a.

24 622. Campaign of Jalāl ad dīn Khawārism Shāh. (IA,xii. 276-284, except for the detail that he made an alliance with Mu'azzam.)

ff. 22⁴~~5~~b-228b.

Death and biography of Afdal b. Saladin.

Death of the Caliph Nāṣir. Note on the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. Account of Nāṣir. The ceremony of the Futuwwa in Ḥamāh for which Ibn Wāṣil's father composes a Khuṭba. Accession of Zāhir.

Death and biography of Jamāl ad dīn al Miṣrī, Qādī of Damascus.

Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm becomes Qādī of Ḥamāh.

(Maq. Blochet 349-351. Abulf.IV.324-328.)

ff. 229a-235a.

2 623. Muhyī ad dīn b. al Jauzī sent by the Caliph with robes for Ashraf, etc. Mu'azzam attacks Homs and returns to Damascus, where Ashraf is practically his prisoner. Negotiations between him and Jalāl ad dīn. Khawārism Shāh. (partly

Kamāl.Blochet. 168-170.)

Jalāl ad dīn Khawārīsh Shāh takes Tiflīs. (IA.xii.294-298, except story told to Ibn Wāsil about it.)

Death of Zāhir, and accession of Mustanşir. (partly from IA.xii.298-299.) Account of Diyā ad dīn b. al Athīr.

Jalāl ad dīn attacks the Īwā'īyya Turkomāns. Fighting between Kaiqubādh of Rūm and Mas'ūd of Āmid. (IA. xii.301-2, 299-300.)

(Maq. Blochet. 352-355. Abulf.IV.330-332.)

ff.235a-244a.

624, Kamāl ad dīn b. al 'Adīm takes a message from Ashraf to Aleppo. Mu'azẓam releases Ashraf. (Kamāl.Blochet. p.171-172.)

Nāşir Dā'ūd returns from Irbil, with Shams ad dīn al Khusrūshāhī.

Kāmil invites the Emperor Frederick to come to Syria. Mu'azẓam conciliates Ashraf.

Shihāb ad dīn Tughrīl takes Shughr, etc. from Şēlih Ahmad b. Zāhir. (Kamāl. Blochet.172.)

Ibn Wāsil's father goes on pilgrimage.

Husām ad dīn 'Alī, Ashraf's deputy in Khilāţ, takes some of Jalāl ad dīn's territory. (IA.xii.307.)

ff.244b-246a.

Death of Mu'azẓam. Account of him his learning, his visit to Jerusalem in 623, 'when Ibn Wāsil saw him.) poems on

him by Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain. His sons,

Accession of his son Nāṣir Dā'ūd. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain.

(Maq. Blochet. 355-361.) Abulf. IV. 334-338.)

ff. 246a-251b.

625, Kāmil comes to Syria, leaving his son Ayyūb as deputy in Egypt. Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh comes with him. Nāṣir Dā'ūd sends to Ashraf for help. Huṣām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī enters Ayyūb's service.

Failure of a plot to take Ba'albek from Amjad.

'Azīz b. Zāhir holds his first public function. (Kamāl. Blochet. 173.)

Ashraf comes to Damascus. Ibn Wāṣil sees him enter with Nāṣir Dā'ūd. Ashraf deserts Nāṣir Dā'ūd and joins Kāmil. Their agreement. Note on the history of Salamiyya.

Jalāl ad dīn defeats some Tartars near Isfahān. (IA. xii. 310-311.)

Arrival of Frederick at Acca. His character. Kāmil regrets having sent for him.

Jalāl ad dīn plunders the country near Khilāṭ. (IA. xii. 314. (Maq. Blochet. 362-367. Abulf. IV. 344-348.)

ff. 251b, 117a-119b, 252a.

626. Some Aleppo troops join Ashraf. (Kamāl. Blochet. 173.)

Ashraf comes to Damascus and besieges it.

Jerusalem is handed over to Frederick. Negotiations and terms. Frederick sends questions for Kāmil's scholars. He visits Jerusalem, accompanied by Shams ad dīn Qādī of Nāblūs, who described the visit to Ibn Wāsil. Ibn Wāsil hears Sibṭ b. al Jauzī preach about the loss of Jerusalem in Damascus. Frederick returns home. His later negotiations with Egypt. ~~Ibn Wāsil's embassy in 657.~~
Kāmil joins Ashraf in besieging Damascus. Ibn Wāsil is there.

'Azīz of Aleppo marries Fāṭima Khātūn bint Kāmil. (Kamāl. Blochet. p.177.)

Nāṣir Dā'ūd hands over Damascus. Ibn Wāsil sees Kāmil enter it. Ashraf takes control of Damascus, and Nāṣir Dā'ūd goes to Kerak, which he was to have with Shaubak, etc.

Death of Mas'ūd b. Kāmil of Yemen.

Murder of Ḥusām ad dīn 'Alī, Ashraf's deputy in Khilāṭ.
(IA.xii.316-317 , except for one or two details.)

f.252b-253b.120-123.255a-258a.

Kāmil goes to Salamiyya, and sends Muẓaffar b. Mansūr to besiege Ḥamāh. Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān flees to Kāmil. The people of Ḥamāh finally agree to admit Muẓaffar. Poem congratulating him by Sharaf ad dīn al Aḡṣarī.

Kāmil goes to Raḡqa. He gives Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān Bārīn. Muẓaffar marries Ghāziyya Khātūn bint Kāmil. Kāmil returns to Egypt.

The Franks attack Bārīn. (OA.xii.319.)

Ashraf's army besieges Ba'albek.

Jalāl ad dīn attacks Khilāt for the second time. (IA.xii.318.) Nāṣir Dā'ūd sends Shams ad dīn al Khusrūshāhī urging him to do so.

(Maq. Blochet. 367-382. Abulf.IV.348-362.)

f.258a-262a.

627. Mujāhid of Homs builds the fortress of Shumaimis, near Salamiyya.

Birth of Nāṣir Yūsuf b. 'Azīz of Aleppo. (Kamāl.Blochét. 178.)

Ashraf takes Ba'albek from Amjad Bahrām Shāh b. Farukh-shāh, who is murdered in Damascus. Biography of him and some of his poems.

Jalāl ad dīn takes Khilāt, is defeated by the combined forces of Kaiqubādih of Rūm and Ashraf, etc. Ashraf recaptures Khilāt. Muẓaffar Ghāzī b. 'Ādil takes Arzan. (IA,xii.318-321, with additions.)

Muẓaffar of Hamāh defeats the Franks. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī.

Account of Shams ad dīn Ṣawānj. (IA,xii,322,)

(Abulf.IV.364-368. Maq.Blochét.382-387.)

ff.262b-270a.

628. 'Azīz is independent in Aleppo, and Shihāb ad dīn Tughrīl retires. Engagements between the Aleppo troops and the Franks. Ibn Wāṣil studies in Aleppo. Bahā ad dīn b.

Shaddād fetches Kāmil's daughter from Egypt. (Kamāl, Blochet. 179-180, with additions and comments.)

Ashraf visits Kāmil in Egypt.

ff.268b-270b.

The Ismā'īlī ruler of Alamūt urges the Tartars to attack Jalāl ad dīn. Comment on him. A story told by Ibn al Athīr, of which Ḥusām ad dīn b. Abī 'Alī tells a different version. Defeat of Jalāl ad dīn. (IA.xii.324-5.) He is killed by a Kurd in a village near Mayyāfāriqīn.¹ Some still expect him to reappear. His death removes a barrier between 'Irāq, etc. and the Tartars. Later defeats of them, up to the time of Qalāwūn. His followers, the Khawāris̄mians, enter the service of Kaiqubādh.

Ibn Wāṣil and his father go to the court of Nāṣir Dā'ūd of Kerak. Description of a conjuror there.

Campaign of the Tartars in the Provinces of Al Jazīra. (Taken from IA.xii.326-328, without altering the places where IA. uses the first person.) Explanation of a tradition supposed to refer to them.

1. Ibn al Athīr does not know what happened to him. Ibn Wāṣil's account is independent of Nasawī's. (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an Nasawī, d.639, was secretary of Jalāl ad dīn and wrote a life of him, ed. Houdas, Brock.i.319.)

They capture Tabrīz. (IA.xii.328-9.)

(Maq.Bloch.387-8. Abulf.IV.368-370.)

ff.270b-276a.

629. 'Azīz of Aleppo takes Tāll Bāshir from Shihāb ad dīn Tughrīl (Kamāl,Bloch.182.) Its previous history,

Kāmil sets out to capture Āmid. He comes to Kerak, where Nāṣir Dā'ūd entertains him. Ibn Wāṣil is there. A marriage is arranged between Nāṣir Dā'ūd and Kāmil's daughter. Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh comes to Kerak. They go to Salamīyya. Death of Ibn Wāṣil's father.

Capture of Āmid. A letter sent by Nāṣir Dā'ūd to Kerak. Account of Fakhr al Quḍāt Naṣr Allāh b. Burāqa. Ayyūb b. Kāmil is left as Kāmil's deputy in the Eastern Provinces.

Kāmil's daughters, Ghāziyya Khātūn and Fāṭima Khātūn come to Ḥamāh, and the latter goes on to Aleppo. (Her reception, Kamāl.Bloch.180.) Poem by Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī. (Maq. Bloch.389-392. Abulf.IV.390-394.)

ff. 276a-283a.

630. Kāmil returns to Egypt. Ibn Wāṣil meets Nāṣir Dā'ūd on his return to Kerak and studies with him.

Death and biography of Saif ad dīn al Āmidī, also of Sharaf ad dīn b. 'Unain.

'Azīz of Aleppo takes Shaizar from Shihāb ad dīn Yūsuf

b. 'Izz ad dīn b. Sābiq ad dīn b. ad Dāyah. (Kamāl Blochet. 183-4.)

Muzaffar of Ḥamāh takes Bārīn from his brother Nāṣir Qiliḡ Arslān. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣarī.

Death and biography of Kūkbūrī of Irbil.
(Maq. Blochet. 393-398.) Abulf. IV. 390-398.)

ff. 283b-289b.

631. Death of Shihāb ad dīn Tuḡhrīl. (Kamāl. Blochet. 184-5.)

Campaign of Kāmil and others in the Bilād ar Rūm. Ibn Wāṣil leaves Nāṣir Dā'ūd ab Salamiyya. 'Aziz of Aleppo does not accompany Kāmil (partly Kamāl Blochet. 185-6.) Muzaffar of Ḥamāh is besieged in Khartabirt. Kāmil and Nāṣir Dā'ūd are estranged.

A fortress is built at Ma'arra. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣarī.

(Maq. Blochet. 399-404. Abulf. IV. 400-406.)

ff. 289b-293a.

632. The princes return from the Bilād ar Rūm.

Death of Zāhir b. Saladin of Bīra. (Kamāl. Blochet. 187.)

Death and biography of Bahā ad dīn b. Shaddād.

Zain ad dīn b. al Ustādh becomes Qādī of Aleppo. (Kamāl. Blochet. 187.)

Return of Muẓaffar to Ḥamāh and birth of his son, Manṣūr
Nāṣir ad dīn Muḥammad. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn ad Anṣārī.

Kaiqubādh takes Ar Ruhā and Ḥarrān.

(Maq. Blochet. 404-5. Abulf. IV. 406-410.)

ff. 293a-296b.

633. Nāṣir Dā'ūd goes to Bagdād and obtains a secret
audience from the Caliph.

Kāmil and Ashraf retake Ar Ruhā and Ḥarrān from Kaiqu-
bādh. Nāṣir Dā'ūd meets them at Damascus, and returns to
Kerak with Ibn Wāṣil.

(Maq. Blochet. 406-410. Abulf. IV. 412-416.)

ff. 296b-299b.

634. Death of 'Azīz of Aleppo. (Kamāl. Blochet. 189-190.)
Biography of him.

Accession of Nāṣir Yūsuf b. 'Azīz, aged seven. His
grandmother Ṣafīyya Khātūn controls affairs. Kāmil sends
robes of honour to Nāṣir Yūsuf. (Kamāl. Blochet. 190-191.)
Alliance against Kāmil, between Ashraf, the Sāhibā of Aleppō,
and Mujāhid of Ḥoms. Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh enters it unwillingly,

Death of Kaiqubādh, and accession of his son Kaikhusrū.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd visits Kāmil in Egypt.

A plot in Aleppo. Kaikhusrū joins the alliance against
Kāmil. Baghrās is taken from the Franks. (Kamāl, Blochet.

193-196.)

The Khawāriṣmians enter Ayyūb's service.

(Maq.Bloch. 410-415. Abulf.IV.418-422.)

ff.300a-305a.

635, Death and biography of Ashraf.

ff.305b-308a.

His brother Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl takes possession of Damascus, supported by Aleppo and Homs. Muẓaffar of Hamāh negotiates with both him and Kāmil. Kamāl ad dīn Ibn al 'Adīm negotiates between Muẓaffar and Mujāhid. (partly from Kamāl.Bloch.p.196.

Kāmil and Nāṣir Dā'ūd take Damascus, Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl is given Buṣrā, Ba'albek, etc. in exchange.

Ayyūb takes Sinjar, etc. from Mansūr b. Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl.

ff.308a-310b.

Death of Kāmil. Biography of him. Scholars at his court.

1702.ff.311a-313b.

1703. ff.1-5a (longer.)

His son 'Adil succeeds in Egypt and Syria, and Ayyūb in the Eastern Provinces. Jawād b. Maudūd b. 'Adil is made deputy of 'Adil in Damascus. Nāṣir Dā'ūd leaves Damascus, and takes Gaza, etc.

Muẓaffar returns to Hamāh, after setting out to attack Homs. Mujāhid attempts to divert the R. Orontes from Hamāh.

The Khawāriṣmians leave Ayyūb's service.

Troops from Aleppo capture Ma'ana and besiege Ḥamāh.

(partly Kamāl Blochet. 199-200.) Marriage alliance between Nāṣir Yūsuf and Kaikhusrū. Badrad dīn Lu'lu' attacks Ayyūb in Sinjar, and he persuades the Khawāriṣmians to help him. They defeat Badr ad dīn. Kaikhusrū attacks Āmid, where Mu'azzam b. Ayyub and Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī are. The khuṭba in Aleppo is made in Kaikhusrū's name. (Kamāl Blochet. 200-204, with details added.)

Jawād defeats Nāṣir Dā'ūd near Nablūs. Ibn Wāṣil sees him reenter Damascus. He becomes independent.

D. of Zain ad dīn b. al Ustādh.

(Maq. Blochet. 415-432. Abulf. IB. 422-436.)

1702. ff. 314a-320a.

1703. ff. 6b-11a.

636. The Aleppo troops retire from Ḥamāh. Destruction of Bārīn.

Jawād offers to exchange Damascus for Sinjar, etc. with Ayyūb, who comes to Damascus. Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh negotiates between them, and Jawād goes to Sinjar.

Mujāhid of Ḥoms destroys Salamiyya. Muẓaffar attacks Ḥoms. Alliance between Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl and of Ba'albek and Ayyūb. Negotiations between him and Nāṣir Dā'ūd. Ḥusām ad

dīn b. abī 'Alī comes to Damascus. Ayyūb resolves to invade Egypt, he moves to Nablūs, and gets control of Palestine. Death of a son of his in Damascus. Nāṣir Dā'ūd goes to Egypt.

Comment on the deaths of 4 princes in 635.

(Maq. Blochet.432-443. Abulf.IV.438-442.)

1702.ff320b-325a.

1703.ff.11a-14a.

637. Muḥyī ad dīn b. al Jauzī negotiates between 'Ādil and Ayyūb. Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl takes Damascus, having concealed his preparations from Ayyūb. An army sent by Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh to protect Damascus is captured at Ḥoms, and many Ḥamāh notables imprisoned.

Ayyūb is deserted by almost all his followers, including ~~the~~ Wāṣil.

Account of Amīn ad daula, vizier of Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd quarrels with 'Ādil, joins Ayyūb and imprisons him in Kerak. Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī is imprisoned in Damascus. Rejoicings in Egypt.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd takes Jerusalem from the Franks. Poem by Ibn Maṭrūḥ.

Negotiations between Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl and Nāṣir Dā'ūd, also between Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl and Kaikhusrū. Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh sends Shihāb ad dīn b. abi-d-Damm to Damascus, Nablūs and Egypt.

Ibn al 'Adim is sent to Egypt. (Kamāl.Blochet.207.)

Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' takes Sinjar.

Death of Mujāhid of Homs; account of him. Accession of his son. Manṣūr Ibrahīm.

Ayyūb is released from Kerak, and sets out for Egypt, but returns with Nāṣir Dā'ūd to Nablūs. 'Adil is seized by some emirs at Bilbīs, and Ayyūb is invited to come to Egypt. His arrival and reception of envoys. Rejoicing in Ḥamāh.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd returns to Kerak, disappointed because Ayyūb refuses to attack Damascus.

(Maq. Blochet. 443-463. Abulf.IV.442-454.)

1702 ff.325b-339a.

1703 ff.15b-29a.

638. Ayyūb imprisons certain emirs, releases Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh as shuyūkh. He advances his own maml-ūks. His buildings at Al Jazīrah.

Alliance between Nāṣir Dā'ūd, Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl and Manṣur of Homs against Ayyūb.

The Khawārismiyans take Ḥarrān. The Ṣāḥiba of Aleppo receives Ja'bar from her brother Malik Ḥafiz Nūr ad dīn Aslān b. 'Adil. Death of Jamāl ad dīn b. al Ustādh, Qāḍī of Aleppo. (Kamāl.Blochet,208-9.) Ibn Wāṣil has met his nephews, one of whom succeeds him.

1702. ff.339a-340b.

1703, ff.29a-30a.

The Khawāriṣmians' first invasion of Syria. They defeat the Aleppo army. Their return to Syria. They spare Ḥamāh because of its alliance with Ayyūb. Manṣūr of Homs finally and defeats them. He takes Harrān, etc. He helps overtakes/Ghiyāth ad dīn Kaikhusrū of Rūm to take Āmid from Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb. (Kamāl. Blochet. 209-219.) Mu'azzam keeps Ḥiṣn Kaifā, which his son Malik Muwaḥḥad 'Abdullah still holds Imprisonment and death of Jawād b. Maudūd b. 'Ādil. Badr ad dīn of Sinjar comes to Egypt.

1702. ff. 341a-344b, (gap).

1703. ff. 30b-34b.

(Maq. Blochet. 463-475. Abulf. 454-462.)

639. An army sent by Ayyūb against Nāṣir Dā'ūd is defeated. Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl makes an alliance with the Franks, and gives them Shaqīf and Ṣafad. Dismissal of Damascus officials who protest.

Alliance between the Khawāriṣmians and Muḥaffar Ghāzī of Mayyāfāriqīn. (Kamāl. Blochet. 219-220.)

Illness of Muḥaffar of Ḥamāh.

Death of Ḥāfiẓ b. 'Ādil. (Kamāl Blochet. 221.)

(Maq. Blochet. 476-479. Abulf. iv. 462-468.)

1703. ff. 35a-37a.

640. Campaign of Manṣūr of Homs against the Khawāriṣmians and Muḥaffar Ghāzī, ending in a victory for Manṣūr. (Kamāl.

Blochet.221-3.)

Death of Ṣafīyya Khātūn bint 'Ādil, Ṣāhibā of Aleppo. Nāṣir Yūsuf rules independently. (Kamāl. Blochet.223-4.)

Death of Mustanṣir. His character, founding of the Mustanṣiriyya Madrasa. Poem on him by Nāṣir Dā'ūd. Accession of Musta'sim.

(Maq. 479-482. Abulf. iv. 468-472.)

1703. ff. 37b-41b.

641. Embassy of Shihāb ad dīn b. abī'ād-Damm and Ibn Wāṣil from Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh to Bagdād. Poem by Ibn Wāṣil.

The Tartars invade the Bilād ar Rūm, and defeat Kaikhus-rū. (Kamāl, Blochet.225-226.)¹

Negotiations between Ayyūb and Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl. Account of their breakdown given to Ibn Wāṣil by one of the envoys. Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, Manṣūr of Ḥoms, and Nāṣir Dā'ūd make an alliance with the Franks against Ayyūb, and give them Jerusalem etc. Ibn Wāṣil passes through Jerusalem on his way to Egypt.

(Maq. Blochet. 482-487. Abulf. iv. 472-474.)

1703. ff. 42a-46a.

642. The Khawāriṣmians come to Syria to help Ayyūb, and retake Jerusalem. Assisted by some of Ayyūb's troops, they defeat the Franks and the Syrian princes at Gaza.

1. Kamāl ad dīn's history ends here.

Death of Muẓaffar of Ḥamāh. His character, Ibn Wāṣil's friendship with him. His wife, Ghāziyya Khātūn bint Kāmil, and Sharaf ad dīn b. al Anṣārī, etc. rule during the minority of his son Manṣūr.

Deaths of Muẓaffar Ghāzī of Mayyāfāriqīn, Ayyūb's son Muḡhīth, and Shihāb ad dīn b. abī-damm.

(Maq. Blochet. 487-493. Abulf. iv. 474-480.)

1703. ff. 46b-50a.

643. Mu'īn ad dīn b. Shaikh as shuyūkh takes Damascus for Ayyūb, from Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl. The Khawāriṣmians desert Ayyūb and join Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, etc.

An envoy from the Caliph invests Ayyūb with robes of honour at 'Abbāsa. Ibn Wāṣil is present.

Siege of Damascus by the Khawāriṣmians and Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl. Defence of Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī, Ayyūb's deputy. The Khawāriṣmians leave Damascus at the approach of Manṣūr of Ḥoms, who has agreed with Ayyūb to oppose them.

Manṣūr of Ḥamāh takes over Salamiyya.

The Tartars attack Bagdād but retire. Poem to Mustā'ṣim by Nāṣir Dā'ūd.

A marriage is arranged between Manṣūr of Ḥamāh and the daughter of 'Azīz of Aleppo. (not in 1702.)

(Maq. Blochet, 493-497. Abulf. iv. 480-484.)

1703. ff. 50b-53a.

1702. f. 345ab.

644. Manṣūr Ibrahīm defeats the Khawāriṣmians.² They are dispersed.

Peace between Ayyūb, Manṣūr of Ḥoms, and Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo. Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl takes refuge at Aleppo. Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī takes Ba'albek from him.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd loses Jerusalem, etc. to Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh as shuyūkh, and is besieged in Kerak. His poem on this.

Death of Manṣūr of Ḥoms at Damascus. His character. Succession of his son, Ashraf Mūsā. A Ḥamawī, Mukhlis ad dīn Ibrahīm b. Ismā'īl b. Qarnāṣ becomes his vizier.

Ayyūb comes to Syria, makes Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī deputy in Egypt.

(Maq. Blochet.497-502, Abulf.iv.484-490.)

1702. ff.349a-350s.

1703. ff.56a-57a.

645. Ayyūb returns to Egypt. His illness.

Ashraf Mūsā of Ḥoms gives Shumaimis to Ayyūb's deputies.

Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh as shuyūkh takes 'Asqalān and Tiberias from the Franks.

Ayyūb sends help to Ashraf Mūsā against Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo, who has attacked him.

Death of 'Ādil b. Kāmil in prison. Also of Badr ad dīn Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd b. al 'Ādid.¹

1. See 1702. f.34b.

Marriage of Mansūr of Ḥamāh to 'Āshīyya Khātūn bint 'Azīz b. Zāhir of Aleppo.

(Maq. Blochet. 503-505. Abulf. iv. 490-492.)

1702. ff. 350a-352b.

1703. ff. 57a-59a.

646. Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī in command at Aṣ Ṣālihiyya. Ibn Wāsil is with him.

Ashraf Mūsā of Ḥoms, attacked by the Aleppo army and Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, exchanges Ḥoms for Tall Bāshir, as no help arrives. Ayyūb comes to Syria to retake Ḥoms. The siege described by Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī. Ayyūb retires on hearing news of the Frankish invasion, and returns ~~on hearing~~ ~~news~~ to Egypt. An agreement with Nāṣir Dā'ūd, which the latter breaks.

(Maq. Blochet. 505-508. Abulf. iv. 494-498.)

1702. ff. 352b-355a.

1703. ff. 59b.

647. Ayyūb goes to Ashmūn Tannāḥ. Preparations to meet the Franks. Their arrival. Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh as shuyūkh retires from Damietta, and the Franks take the empty city, Sunday, 23 Ṣafar. Ibn Wāsil is with Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī in Cairo when he receives the news.

Ayyūb camps at Manṣūra. Prisoners reach Cairo. Sidon

is captured from the Franks. Ayyūb's illness grows worse,

Nāṣir Dā'ūd goes to Bagdād. His sons hand over Kerak to Ayyūb and come to Egypt.

1702. ff.355b-358b.

1703. ff.62a-65a.

Death of Ayyūb. His character, policy of buying Mamlūks buildings, patronage of letters. Scholars at his court. Ibn Wāṣil is given a post by him. His sons.

1702. ff.358b-361a.

1703. ff.65b-75b. (1702 omits the account of the scholars, etc.)

Shajar ad durr and Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh ash shuyūkh conceal Ayyūb's death. Ibn Wāṣil suspects it. A messenger is sent to Mu'azzam b. Ayyūb in Ḥiṣn Kaifā. Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī also sends, urging him to hurry, and puts a possible rival, Mughīth b. 'Adil b. Kāmil, into the citadel of Cairo, Mu'azzam sets out for Cairo, Saturday, II Ramaḍān.

Fighting with the Franks during Ramaḍān and Shawwāl. Battle of Manṣūra, Tues. 5 Dhil Qa'da. The Franks surprise the Moslems, death of Fakhr ad dīn b. Shaikh ash shuyūkh. The Moslems finally drive them back.

Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī meets Mu'azzam at Aṣ Ṣālihiyya. Ibn Wāṣil is with him. A literary discussion between them and another after their arrival at Manṣūra. A post held by Ibn Wāṣil in 658. A naval engagement. Ḥusām ad dīn and Ibn

Wāṣil return to Cairo.

Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' takes Naṣībīn from Sa'īd of Māridīn.
(Maq. Blochet. 508-534. Abulf, iv, 498-508.)

1703. ff. 75b-86b.

1702. ff. 361b-369a. (omits certain passages.)

648. Capture of St. Louis. Poem on this by Jamāl ad dīn b. Maṭrūh. Mu'azzam dismisses his fathers's supporters, including Ḥusām ad dīn. Murder of Mu'azzam. His character.

Shajar ad durr is given the Sultānate, with Aibak^{brak} as Atābek of the army. Damietta is taken and the Franks leave.

Movements of Malik Sa'īd b. 'Azīz b. 'Ādil. Mughīth b. 'Ādil b. Kāmil takes Kerak and Shaubak after being imprisoned there. Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo takes Damascus with the help of the Qaimarī Emīrs. All emīrs in Egypt who are not Turks are to be seized. Alarm of Ḥusām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī at this.

Aibak is made Sultān, then Atābek of Ashraf Mūsā b. Ṣalāh ad dīn b. Mas'ūd, who becomes nominal Sultān. Note on Yemen, its present ruler is Muẓaffar Shams ad dīn Yūsuf b. Maṣṣūr.¹ Ibn Wāṣil sees Ashraf's father in 642.

Attempt to set up Mughīth b. 'Ādil. Ayyūb's coffin is moved to Cairo. Comment on 647-648. The walls of Damietta

1. Rasūlid, d. 694. (Lane Poole. Moh. Dyn. p. 99.)

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are destroyed.

Nāṣir Yūsuf sends Ibn al 'Adīm as ambassador to Egypt. His illness in Damascus, poems on his recovery by Shhraf ad dīn al Anṣārī, and Bahā ad dīn Zuhair. He imprisons Nāṣir Dā'ūd in Homs, where his sons join him. Account of this given to Ibn Wāṣil by one of them, Shihāb ad dīn Ghāzi, now living in Cairo. Poem by Nāṣir Dā'ūd.

Nāṣir Yūsuf attempts to take Egypt. Account derived from Husām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī of his defeat near Aṣ-Ṣālihiyya, and the execution of Shams ad dīn Lu'lu' al Amīnī, his vizier. Events in Cairo meanwhile. The army returns with prisoners including Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, who is imprisoned and then assassinated. His character.

Embassy of Ibn al 'Adīm to Bagdād.

(Maq. Quatremère, i. I. pp. 1-32. Abulf. iv. 508-526.)

1703. ff. 86b-108a.

1702. ff. 369a-384b. (gap)

649. Embassy of Ibn al 'Adīm to Mōsil. Negotiations between Nāṣir Yūsuf and Aibak, conducted by the Caliph's envoy.

Death of Bahā ad dīn b. al Jumaizī, and of Jamāl ad dīn b. Maṭrūḥ. Poetry of the latter.

Pilgrimage of Husām ad dīn b. abī 'Alī, accompanied by Ibn Wāṣil.

(Maq. i. I. 32-36. Abulf. iv. 526-528.)

1703. ff. 108a-110b.

650. Negotiations continue between Nāṣir Yūsuf and Aibak.

651. Peace is made.

Husām ad dīn retires to Syria, where Nāṣir Yūsuf receives him.

Account of the parties among the Mamlūks. Power of Fāris ad dīn Aqtā'ī.

652. 'Imād ad dīn b. al Quṭb is made Qādī of Ḥamāh, but dies. Shams ad dīn Ibrahīm b. al Bārizī succeeds him, the previous Qādī, Muḥyī ad dīn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. abil Qasim, having been dismissed.

Murder of Fāris ad dīn Aqtā'ī, and deposition of Ashraf Mūsā.

Embassies of Ibn al 'Adīm and his son to Bagdād and Mōsil. Nāṣir Yūsuf marries the daughter of Kaiqubādh of Rūm.

(Maq.i.I.36-57. Abulf.iv.528-538.)

1703.ff.111a-112b.

653. Discovery of a plot of the 'Azīzī Mamlūks to kill Aibak. Ibn Wāṣil in the camp at the time. Imprisonment of his friend Jamāl ad dīn Aidughdī, leader of the 'Azīzīs. Aibak marries Shajar ad durr.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd, 648-653. His pilgrimage in this year. Ibn Wāṣil's brother meets him.

(Maq.i.I.57-60. Abulf.iv.538-540.)

1703. ff.113a-116b.

654. Ibn al 'Adīm is sent to obtain robes of honour for Nāṣir Yūsuf from the Caliph, but is unsuccessful owing to the objections raised by Aibak's envoy.

Tāj ad dīn b. Bint al A'azz becomes Qādī of Egypt. Account of Sharaf ad dīn al Fā'izī. Poem by Jamāl ad dīn b. Maṭrūh.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd gets back one tenth of a deposit left with the Caliph, and stays in Damascus.

(Maq.i.I.60-63. Abulf,iv.540-542.)

1703.ff.116b-119a.

655. Murder of Aibak by Shajar ad durr and others. Manṣūr Nūr ad dīn 'Alī b. Aibak is made Sultan, and Shajar ad durr is imprisoned, and the murderers executed. Aidughdī is again imprisoned. Fāris ad dīn Aqtā'i is made Atābek. Shajar ad durr is killed.

Ibn Wāṣil is made Qādī of the districts of Gīza and Aṭfih.

Murder of the vizier Sharaf ad dīn al Fā'izī.

Some Bahrī Mamlūks are defeated by Nāṣir Yūsuf in Syria, and an attempted invasion of Egypt by them is repelled.

Nāṣir Dā'ūd sets out for 'Irāq, but stays on the border.

A fire in Medīna destroys the Mosque.

Death of Ghāziyya Khātūn bint Kāmil, wife of Muṣaffar of Hamāh. Tombs in Hamāh.

(Maq.i.I.64-77.Abulf,iv.544-550.)

1703.ff.119a-126b.

656. Capture of Bagdād by Hūlāgū, deaths of Musta'sim, and of members of the Jauzī family. A story told to Ibn Wāṣil the day the news arrived.

Defeat of Mughith and the Bahrī Mamlūks at Al 'Abbāsiyya
1703. ff. 126b-129b.

1702. f. 385.

A plague in Syria and Egypt. Ibn Wāṣil at Giza notes how it spreads. Nāṣir Dā'ūd dies of it near Damascus while preparing to go to the assistance of the Caliph. Account by his son Muẓaffar Ghāzī, now living in Cairo. His character, poetry and letters.

1703. ff. 129^b-136b.

Death of Bahā ad dīn Zuhair. His character, poems by and about him.

1703. ff. 137a-139b.

Death of the vizier Al 'Alqamī. Badr ad dīn Lu'lu' visits Hūlāgū, and returns to Mōsil. His character. Ibn Wāṣil sees him on his way to Bagdād, 641.

The Tartars besiege Kāmil b. Muẓaffar Ghāzī in Mayyā-fāriqīn, but do not take it until 658.

Plague in Damascus. List of people who died.

Nāṣir Yūsuf defeats the Bahrī Mamlūks at Gaza. 657 he goes to Kerak to attack Mughith, but comes to terms. Manṣūr

of Ḥamāh with him. Baibars joins him.¹

(Maq.i.I.77-84. Abulf.iv.550-566.) 1702.ff.386a-391a.

1703.ff.139b-144b.

657. Death of Yūsuf al Qamīni, stories about him.²

Death of Badr ad dīn Lu'lu'.

Accession of Quṭuz, who deposes Maṣṣūr b. Aibak.

Ibn al 'Adīm is sent to Egypt to ask for help against the Tartars. Ibn Wāṣil present at his reception.

Birth of Muṣaffar Taqī ad dīn b. Maṣṣūr, the present ruler of Ḥamāh. Poems of congratulation by Sharaf ad dīn al Anṣārī.

The Tartars come to Aleppo for the first time.

(Maq.i.I.84-90. Abulf.iv.566-574.) 1702.ff.391a-393b.

1703.ff.145a-148a.

658. Nāṣir Yūsuf flees from Barza, where he was encamped to meet the Tartars, to Damascus. Baibars and the Baḥrīs flee to Gaza. Baibars joins Quṭuz in Egypt.

The Tartars attack Aleppo for the second time, and capture the city. Ḥamāh surrenders to them. Maṣṣūr of Ḥamāh and Nāṣir Yūsuf set out for Egypt. The Tartars take Nablūs.

1. 657A.H. begins twice in both MSS. The events are given by ^{Nagrizi} Magrazi in 657.

2. Cf. Abū Shāma, Mudhayyil, Paris 5852 f.222a.

Manṣūr of Ḥamāh and the Syrian army go to Egypt. The Tartars take the citadel of Aleppo. Ashraf Mūsā b. Manṣūr Ibrahīm joins them, and is given Ḥoms. The walls of the citadel of Ḥamāh are destroyed.

Surrender of the citadel of Damascus to the Tartars. They take Mayyāfāriqīn. The head of Kāmil b. Muẓaffar Ghāzī is carried round Syria. Note on the similar treatment of Husain, Ibn Wāṣil has visited a shrine in 'Asqalān where his head is supposed to have been buried. Muḥyī ad dīn b. ^{Zakī} ~~Azki~~ ad dīn is made Qādī of Syria. Capture of Ba'albek.

1703. ff.148b-154a.

1702. f. 394ab. (gap.)

Nāṣir Yūsuf goes to Hūlāgū.

Poem by Abū Shāma on the fire in Medīna and the capture of Bagdād. (Mudhayyil, Paris 5852, f.213b.)

Character, friends, and poetry of Nāṣir Yūsuf.

1703. ff.154b-159a.

Riots against the Christians and the Jews in Damascus.

Qutūḡ sets out to fight the Tartars, Manṣūr of Ḥamāh with him. Ibn Wāṣil is introduced to the latter by his brother, and accompanies them to Aṣ Ṣālihiyya.

The Tartars are defeated at 'Ain Jālūt. Manṣūr is given back Ḥamāh, Bārīn and Ma'arra. Qutūḡ goes to Damascus, Manṣūr to Ḥamāh. Qutūḡ returns to Egypt.

Murder of Qutuz. A dream foretelling this prevents Ibn Wāṣil setting out to join the army. Accession of Baibars.

'Alam ad dīn Sinjar al Ḥalabī, deputy in Damascus, proclaims himself independent.

The Tartars attack Bīra. Defeat of a force sent by Sa'īd 'Alā ad dīn b. Badr ad dīn Lu'lu', now deputy in Aleppo, to help Bīra. He is imprisoned by Ḥusām ad dīn Jaukandār and other emīrs. They retire at the approach of the Tartars, and go to Ḥamāh, where Mansūr entertains them, and accompanies them to Homs. The Tartars visit Ḥamāh.

(Maq.i.I.90-129. Abulf.iv.574-612.)

1703.ff.159a-166b.

659. Ashraf Mūsā and Mansūr defeat the Tartars. Mubāriz ad dīn Aqush describes the battle to Ibn Wāṣil. Poem by Sharaf ad dīn al Ansāri. The Tartars return to the Eastern Provinces.

'Alam ad dīn Sinjar is defeated and another governor appointed by Baibars.

Shams ad dīn Burlū gets control of Aleppō. Account of a plot to let his followers into Ḥamāh, given to Ibn Wāṣil by Mansūr and another.

Death of Nāṣir Yūsuf.

Arrival of a claimant to the Caliphate in Egypt. Allegian

is sworn to him.

Ibn Khallikān is made Qādī of Damascus.

(Maq.i.I.130-162. Abulf.iv.612-624.)

1703.ff.166b-171b.